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/Since Métraux believes that the Chiriguano are actually descendants of the Guarani, early culture history of the Chiriguano, in regard to their migrations and relations with other groups with whom they came in contact, will be found in category 116, pp. 1-30. Much of the material in these pages has been subheaded for Guarani SM4 but if the author's contention is correct then the data contained therein may equally apply to the historical Chiriguano./

167 [464] /312 cont./ Some years ago, old Taruiri, having learned from some Chiriguano that Brazilians were "cariñosos," that is, generous, had the idea of going to their country to find work, for which he hoped to be well paid. He banded together with 45 other Chiriguano before whom he held out the glittering fortune which awaited them in the country to the east. With this adventurous spirit and boldness which characterize the Guarani, they did not hesitate to take off toward the unknown. They first passed through Chané territory and followed the course of the Parapiti to the desert. There they rushed boldly into these unexplored regions, dried-up expanses, which separate the Izozoc from Chiquitos. They were all armed with bows and arrows to defend themselves from a possible attack by the Tsirakua, the tracks of whose squared-off sandals they often [271] [824] saw in the sand. No water, of course, but only sipóy roots, which permitted them to stand the thirst. After 12 days of walking, this band arrived at Chiquitos, then from there reached the Paraguay River and Corumbá. Taruirí was not a little surprised to find brothers there, "that is," he explained to me, "people who spoke my language, badly it is true, but who nevertheless made themselves understood." When I inquired discreetly as to the success of his business over there, Taruirí answered, shaking his head and in a tone shot through with sadness and disillusionment: "All that was only a lie," todo era engaño.

Taruirí does not know and will never know that by doing this he accomplished an exploit that would be the pride and glory of an explorer. For him, it was a question of a simple trip, scarcely longer and more arduous than the one he undertook in the past to go to Argentina.

173 539 648 484 Does anyone want other modern examples of their spirit of adventure and of that ease with which the Guarani move about? I transcribe as such the curious tale told to me by the Indian Cipriano from the Ivu mission, who, confused as he may be, refers to definitely authentic facts:

C 173 539 ●648 484 C [643]

/312 cont./

In olden days numerous Paraguayans emerged into our territory near the Izozoc and they went to fight on the side of the Guarayú and Santa Cruz. From there they went on to Cochabamba. They gave battle over there, then went to Oruro. Their colonel was killed. They scattered in every direction. One of them came to Machareti where the "Capitan grande," Mandepona, was. The latter told Cipriano, who was then a young man: "Let us go to Paraguay." Mandepona had given this Paraguayan ten "soldiers." Cipriano did not want to go with them. The ten went down the Pilcomayo and arrived at a village near Paraguay. /Plate III appears here./ /313/ A soldier richly decked out with silver, with a horse whose harness was of the same metal, came to meet them to examine them. The Paraguayan they were escorting went to speak with this soldier, but the others did not hear what they were saying. While these two were talking, they saw the Toba arrive with a piece of cloth between their legs and their chests and arms painted with charcoal. The Toba asked them where they were coming from and where they were going. The Chiriguano answered: "To visit you." The Toba refused to allow them to continue on their way, although they were only one league from Paraguay. As an excuse they told them that they were in the act of making war. The Paraguayan rode behind the soldier, and the ten Chiriguano returned to Machareti.

The first part of this story seems to be a modern adaptation of Alejo García's adventure. I do not know what event could have given rise to this legend, which, had it been true, would have been very much to the taste of the Paraguayan government. As for the trip of the ten Chiriguano from Machareti, it has the appearance of being wholly authentic.

C G 175 648

The crossing of the Chaco is a less difficult undertaking for Indians than for white men. Formerly these trips from the Andes to Paraguay must have been facilitated by a greater density of the native population. It is enough to recall the relatively easy trip of Juan de Ayolas going from Paraguay to the country of the Chané and coming back without having to cope with any particular obstacles. The exploration of Alvar Núnez

[Text continues on P. 30]

CG 175 484 /313 cont./ The exploration of Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, continued by his lieutenant, Francisco de Ribera, is a second example that shows very well that the excursions of the Guarani did not constitute exceptional deeds that were extremely dangerous to accomplish.

Having arrived at a certain distance from the spurs of the Andes, the Guarani entered the territory of the Chané Indians.

It was in one of these numerous warlike ventures of the Guarani that the Portuguese adventurer Alejo García took part with several other comrades.

CG 175 167 484 [162] I am convinced that the 2,000 (according to Díaz de Guzmán, p. 26) Guarani whom this adventurer accompanied as far as Peru formed only one of the numerous bands of warriors of this nation who, each year, from every point of the Guarani territory, used to cross the Paraguay River, then the deserts of the Chaco.

CG 114 175 167 484 174 Ruy Díaz de Guzmán, who reports this event, sees things in too simple a light. A migration is not made at one time nor in one year. That of the Guarani lasted perhaps several decades, without, however, necessarily speaking of centuries. Twenty or thirty years must have sufficed for the nucleus of the Chiriguano nation to form between the upper Pilcomayo and the Guapay River. The penetration of the Guarani into /314/ the Chaco took place in a rather chaotic and incoherent fashion. The conquistadors were continually meeting on their route Guarani groups who, for one reason or another, could not succeed in joining their brothers established beyond the Chaco. These Guarani, who blazed the trails followed by the invaders, were valuable guides for the Spanish adventurers, and they were the ones who led them to Peru. For long years there were uninterrupted communication and incessant coming and going between Paraguay and the eastern slope of the Bolivian Andes.

/315 cont./

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/fn. 1 cont./ who came to us themselves and others from near their land, and what they say agrees with what this one or that one tells us, and they say that they were slaves of a xristiano /Christian/ who came from the island of santa catalina and demanded gold and silver and they say that he got them from a race of carioes who took them for slaves and it was said the xrisptiano garçia, etc." /translated from the Spanish/. This passage seems to indicate that García and his companions found Guarani already established at the foot of the Andes and that the latter had already reduced Chané groups into slavery.

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The most significant of these texts is the one we find in the Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala, pp. 346-347. Irala was at Puerto de los Reyes on the Paraguay River when "on the brigantine where he was, there came a principal with three other yndios /Indians/ who spoke the guarani language just like the guaranis themselves; the said principal said that he is called theroçe, and one yndio of those who came with him, who was small in body, said that he was called xagoani and the guaranys called him maraana; without being asked anything, he said he had lived and had been a slave without pay /esclavo de gracia/, that the yndios named him maratya and called him by the two names; he and the said principal and all his house were not from the said port and they were the ones that were called chanes; asked through the said languages why they were called chanes, he said they were of the race of the chanes who were in the interior land and who are called çeritocoçi and that thus among the

/315 cont./

C G 175 648 Ce 175 648 567

/fn. 1 cont./ said chanes each pueblo had its name, although all were one race; asked how they came to speak guarany and where he knew the said garçia, he said that the reason he spoke goarany was that in times past, before garçia came from brasil /Brazil/ to the said guaranys, there was a great gathering of said guaranys in the port called ytatyn, in order to go to search for the metal, and that passing through their land at night they came upon their houses and killed many of them and took their women and children and brought them to the said port of ytatyn, and while they were slaves of the said goaranys in the said port, the said garçia passed through there, with whom he and two other brothers went in search of said metal with the said guaranys; asked if he went and traveled with the said Garçia until he returned, he said yes; asked how far the said garçia had gone and where he got the metal that he carried, he said that he had gone as far as the race that they call payçunos, and that the chanes and the said payçunos gave him the said metal and that he had returned from there because he learned that a race called çorocotoquis were having a great gathering against the said garçia and those who went with him, and he said that they returned to get more xrisptianos in order to return with them for the said metal ..." /translated from the Spanish/.

C G 175 127 114 167

This testimony and some other indications corroborate Gandía, who in this study gave evidence not only of vast erudition but also great sagacity. There is nevertheless one point on which I do not agree with him. The documents alluding to the migration of the Guaraní all speak of it as a recent event whose details were

/316 cont./
G decided to make an expedition and go back to the region where
175 Alejo García had gone. When they had summoned many Indians
167 of this province, they started going by bands and tribes. The
Indians from below, the ones from the Paraná, followed the
G course of the Araguay River, which is, as I have said, the
131 Pilcomayo. These are the Indians who today live on the
175 borders of the Corregimiento de Tarija: the Indians who lived
167 in the region of Asunción entered on the right of the Paraguay
River in the direction of Caáguazú. The Indians of
Jeruquisaba and Carayazapera who were living higher up on
the river left it near San Fernando. The latter are the ones
who today are established on the Guapay River /317/ 20 leagues
from the city of San Lorenzo, government of Santa Cruz da la
Sierra."

G In the commentaries of Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca
175 (Hernández, pp. 299-301), it is a question of another migra-
167 tion which does not appear to have any relation to that of
García, which was several years later. I shall quote this passage
● 648 in its entirety, for it illustrates well certain vicissitudes of this
great ethnic movement: Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca had sent
a Spanish detachment to the Xarayes Indians to try to confer,
with them as intermediaries, with a group of Guarani Indians
who had settled a short time before in their neighborhood.
The emissaries failed in their attempt, for Xaray and Guarani
were irreconcilable enemies. By way of consolation, the
Xaray cacique had put them in touch with a Guarani Indian,
married to a Xaray woman, who had lived among them for a
long time. "This Indian, who belonged to the Guarani race,
had been in the villages of the interior of the lands and /318/
knew the roads which led there." The Guarani was invited to
accompany the Spanish detachment and, interrogated before
the Governor by interpreters, he declared "that he was a Guarani,
originally from Itatí /Fig. 1 appears here/ on the Paraguay River;
that in his youth his people summoned and made a great levy
G of Indians of all the land and went toward the land and the
[721] villages of the interior. He himself had gone there with his
[726] father and his relatives to make war on the natives of this region.

[Text Continues on P. 41]

/319 cont./

there, for the Indians are excellent farmers. In the course of the war with these populations the Indians of his tribe, he added, destroyed and depopulated numerous villages, but doubtless they had already rebuilt them. He was asked whether there were large rivers and springs along the way. He answered that he saw rivers, but that they did not have much water; however, there were other very deep ones, springs, lagoons, game, deer and tapirs, fruits and honey. He was asked whether at the time his people made war on these tribes he had seen any who had silver and gold. He said that in the villages they pillaged there were many silver and gold plaques, /320/ labrets, ear ornaments, bracelets, crowns, axes, small vessels; and that it was all taken away from them when they were put to rout. Those who escaped were able to take along some silver plaques, beads, labrets; but the Guaxarapo stole them when they tried to pass through their territory and killed them. Those who settled in the bush had a few, and he had heard it said that at the present time it was the Xaray who possessed this silver. He declared he had seen the Xaray, when they war upon the Indians, take out silver plaques which they had carried away and plundered in the interior lands."

Against this bundle of proofs attesting to the recent character of the Guarani migration, what is the value of Garcilaso de la Vega's vague affirmation (Vol. II, pp. 279-281) which some people want to oppose to it? According to this kind narrator, the Inca Yupanki would have undertaken the conquest of the Chiriguano country for the virtuous purpose of converting them to the good natural religion of the Peruvians. The Chiriguano would have been veritable monsters, feeding on human flesh, uniting by chance, living without fire or law, burying the bones of their dead in caves or in the hollows of trees. In a word, except for anthropophagy and the mention of the maloca (1), there is nothing in the picture of the

1. The description Garcilaso (Vol. II, p. 281) gives us of the large house of the Chiriguano is perfectly exact and very

/320 cont./

C 175 342

interesting: "they make a very big dormitory and, within it, as many small rooms as there are residents, and so small that they do not have room for more persons, and it is enough for them, because they do not have furniture, nor do they have wearing apparel and hence they go about naked." /Translated from the Spanish./ These facts agree on every point with those of the Relaciones geográficas, etc. (Vol. II, Plate CIV) and of Lizárraga (Vol. I, p. 259) on the same subject. The Guarani, just like the Tupinamba and other Tupi tribes, lived in maloca, gigantic halls capable of containing more than 150 persons and which often in themselves formed the village. The existence of this type of dwelling among the Chiriguano in the 16th and 17th centuries constitutes new proof for the recent character of their migration. In the 18th century we find them already in possession of the small rectangular house which they still have now and where one single family lives. (See Métraux, 2. p. 51.)

C [114] [113]

C [171]

C [174] [167]

C 114 127 175

novelist Garcilaso which might allow one to suppose that he really knew who the Chiriguano were. As for this conquest by the Inca, it would have been barely an attempt at conquest...

C 114 127 175 648 [101]

Garcilaso confuses the Chiriguano with all the tribes of the eastern slopes of the Andes whom he had vaguely heard mentioned. Let us note that he is the only one to attribute this expedition to the Inca Yupanki, while the other chroniclers, better informed, are satisfied to say that the Inca Yupanki made an expedition against the Antis, probably around Cuzco. Unfortunately the vogue this pleasant writer enjoyed at a time when the history of America was still in limbo bluffs some modern critics into believing him, and they go so far as to prefer one of his unwarranted affirmations to the serious /321/ and precise evidence of chroniclers who get their information at first hand and from reliable sources.

/321 cont./

GE 175 648 In 1550 during the expedition made by Domingo Martínez de Irala from Paraguay to the slopes of the Andes, 150 Guarani Indians out of those he had with him as auxiliary troops mutinied when they learned that they were in the vicinity of Chiriguano Indians "who are of the same nation." They deserted in order to go and join them. In 1548 the same thing had already happened (Díaz de Guzmán, p. 142).

G4 114 175 167 174 The Guarayú and the Pauserna are brothers of the Chiriguano and, like them, came from Paraguay at a recent date to settle in eastern Bolivia. Nordenskiöld (7), without giving any proof, correlates their migration with that of the Chiriguano and fixes its date at the beginning of the 16th century. The Guarayú would have been none other than the descendants of those Guarani who, having left northern Paraguay, would have gone obliguely toward the northwest in their trek toward the setting sun. I myself shared this opinion for a long time, until my attention was attracted by an episode in the history of the conquest which obliged me to recognize my error, at the same time permitting me to solve the problem of the origin of the Guarayú.

G4 175 167 [101] [131] The Itatin, known nowadays by the names Guarayú and Pauserna, actually came from Itatín province in Paraguay (1);

1. The former province of Itatí in Paraguay extended to the south of the Apa River, formerly the Corrientes River.

but it is not a question of a migration in the usually understood sense, and their establishment in eastern Bolivia was later than that of the Chiriguano.

G4 175 167 648 Nufrio de Chaves, going from Santa Cruz de la Sierra to Asunción in 1563, stopped among the Itatin and plotted with the chiefs of this tribe to transplant the Indians of this region beyond Paraguay. The project was carried out the following year when the Governor of Paraguay, Vergara, and Nufrio de Chaves organized the famous exodus toward Peru. While passing through the country of the Itatin, Nufrio de Chaves raised

/324 cont./

Ce 6a 648 cites a people of the Zchennte (Chané) in whom by reason of their geographic situation we must see the Chané-Guaná: 'They are vassals and subjects of the Mayaiess (Mbayá) as with us the peasants are subject to their lords.' We also have no trouble in recognizing the Chané in the Queanaes (Guaná) whom Alcide d'Orbigny mentions, according to an old account, as having been subjugated by their neighbors the Chiriguano and obliged by them to cultivate their fields. In the 18th century the Chané, as prisoners of war of the C Ce 175 648 567 727 Chiriguano, had been quartered /Plate V appears here/ /325/ like slaves in villages called Chané after them. When Lozano declares that the Chiriguano call their slaves Chané, an ethnic value must be given to this phrase. The state of subjection of the Chané in relation to the Chiriguano is explained in the linguistic sphere by the name which the first used to give to the second: cheya, 'my master,' the Chané used to say when addressing the Chiriguano, and the latter called the Chané tapii, 'my slave.'

"The little we know about the Chané who live in the Ce 175 797 lost regions of the northern Chaco is connected exclusively with the activity of the Jesuit and Franciscan missionaries of the Collège de Tarija. The first evangelized the Chané in C [797] the 17th century at the same time as the Chiriguano; and in 1714 they formed with them a doctrina /Christianized Indian village/ in the vicinity of Santa Cruz. It was called San Juan de los Porongos and in 1767 was under the authority of a parish priest. It was only with great difficulty that the Chané could C Ce 175 162 797 be assembled, in 1767 and 1789, into the two missions of Asero and Iti. We learn from a report by Father Pedro Bartolomé addressed to Francisco Aguirre that the Filipili mission in 1789 was made up of Chané Indians whose racial brothers were living mingled with the Chiriguano on the borders of Chuquisaca and Santa Cruz. Viedma, who visited the missions in 1788, found in the villages of the Parapití Chiriguano and Chané who were C Ce 175 648 797 living together, united under the authority of the Franciscan missionaries. The activity of the missionaries among the Chané naturally was to have as a consequence a rupture of the bonds

[Text Continues on P. 51]

/325 cont./

Ce 175 648 [797]

of subjection which attached them to the Chiriguano: as a matter of fact, in the 18th century great social transformations took place and little by little they tried to free themselves from their servitude."

There is little to add to this account by Kersten (pp. 69-71), so clear and exact. However, I should like to complete it by quoting some texts of the 18th century which illuminate the drama of which the Chané had been the victims since the end of the 15th century.

Ce 175 72 169 Ce 175 648

The war of extermination made by the Guarani on the Chané dates from their first migrations to the country of metal. Thus it was that the Chané who, as we have seen, recounted to Irala the great exodus of the Guarani of Itatí before García's expedition, was taken along by the latter as a slave on the banks of the Paraguay. The Guarani, passing through his country at night, had attacked the homes of his people and taken women and children as captives. Later, this Chané was a

Ce [266]

member of García's expedition. Upon the death of the latter, the Guarani got ready to kill him to devour him as they had done with his companions and several women. He was able to

Ce [113]

escape and take refuge among the Guaxarapo (Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala, pp. 347-348).

C G 175 72 567 Ce 175 648

In an account that a Guarani gave to the same Irala about the expedition in which he had taken part to go to the country of metal, he speaks of the /326/ Chané exactly as the Chiriguano will do a century later: "They fell," says he, "on the houses of slave and enemy Indians." This term "slaves" applied to the Chané characterizes well the relations the Chiriguano had with them until not long ago (Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala, p. 330). In the middle of the interview a Chané challenged our Guarani to ask him whether he had been present when the people of Itatí destroyed his tribe. When the Guarani inquired who he was, he replied: "I am the chief of the slaves of whom you speak, and, taken prisoner at the time you say, I lived with these Guarani until the moment when I went away and came here. The land you speak of is mine. Why do you not tell the truth to the Christians who are asking for nothing else but the way to

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/327 cont./ they have not done it any more for some years and sell them to the Spanish for the shoddy goods the latter give them in exchange. Indeed, they consider it more profitable to sell them for objects they need than to eat them. Their cupidity is such that there is no year when they do not go out to make war in the plains, with great trouble and at the risk of their lives, solely to procure prisoners. Among these Indians there

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are some individuals so rich that in addition to clothes of cloth and silk they have silver dishes, a service which costs as much as 500 marcs. Without counting a great number of horses saddled and bridled, with good harnesses, and all kinds of weapons which they owe to the thefts and plundering they do in the course of these unjust and pernicious wars. Up to the present no one has been able to bridle their cruelty or stop the

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disorder and insolence of these people. They have committed many offenses and lacked respect for the royal Power, taking up arms against Francisco de Toledo, who was viceroy of this kingdom. Besides, they have killed and stolen from the Spanish and have inflicted outrages of all kinds on them, depopulating villages, killing and pillaging the fields and farms of the vassals of His Majesty who live on these frontiers of Tarija, Paspaya, Pilaya, Tomina, and Mizque, and the government of

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Santa-Cruz de la Sierra." (Díaz de Guzmán, pp. 30-31.)

"The Chiriguana (sic) live near these valleys (Tomina and Lagunilla) in warm mountains covered with trees where horses can scarcely walk. They are not natives of this country but foreigners come from Río de la Plata. The language is the same and does not differ from it in any way... The Indians toward whom they are most hostile inhabit a province behind these mountains, a very flat land lacking water, which is called Llano de Manso or the province of the Chané. These Chané are inoffensive people but of good tendencies, of a

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more congenial appearance and a better nature than the Chiriguana. The latter have eaten more than 60,000 of them, and I do not believe I am saying very many, for these plains were very heavily populated. At present there are only a few Indians, and as they have no one to defend them, these

/327 cont./
brutal people butcher them. The Chané are so subject to the Chiriguana that it is enough for them to see a Chiriguana to sit down without resisting, allowing the Chiriguana to do what they like with them. The Chiriguana take them along like flocks of sheep. They eat the ones they want and use the others for work in their houses and fields. If they want to eat one, they only tell him to go and wash in the river and he does it without talking back. He comes back naked; the Chiriguana command their children to take bows and arrows, and the poor Chané tries /328/ to escape the arrows without, however, daring to flee from the spot until he dies riddled with arrows, to the great joy of all who look at him. They cut him in pieces and eat him either grilled or roasted, with corn and much ají /peppers/. For war they use Chané who they think are brave and robust. They treat them according to their barbaric customs and put them in front of themselves; if they do not fight well, they kill them with arrow shots from behind." (Lizarraga, Vol. I, pp. 259-260.)

Last year, going from Cuevo to Igüembé, I had taken a Chiriguano guide who spoke Spanish fairly well and who had lived among the Chané in childhood. He told me in his own way about these wars of former days. His involved narrative recalls that of the Spanish monk. Later I sojourned for some time among the Chané who in their turn alluded to their fights with the Chiriguano and to the cannibalistic customs of the latter. "The Tapuí are not the Ava. In times past they used to fight against the Avá." The Ava used to take the women and keep them in captivity. They used to marry the captives. From the sons of the Ava issued the Tapuí, they are sons of the women they carried away. The Chané are sons of the captives. When the Chané talk together, it is with words that one does not understand. Formerly the Karai (Whites) used to fight the Ava around Cochabamba. The Karai pursued them to the lower part and left them in Paraguay. The Paraguayans are sons of the ancient Ava. In olden days the Ava used to eat the Tapuí when they made war against them. "The Ava used to eat us," the Chané would say, "and that is why we detest them."

/328 cont./

The Chané confirmed to me the sayings of my informant and assured me that the Chiriguano used to eat them in times past (1).

1. Matienzo (pp. 166-167) expresses himself on the subject of the Chiriguano and the Chané in almost the same words as Lisárraga: "In the land there is a province of the Chaicas and close to the city there are some immigrant Indians who are said to be chiriguanaes, warlike people, very cruel, indomitable, and they eat human flesh, live in the cordilleras, have no occupation other than fighting and killing and eating Indians and using them as slaves: they go out at night to plunder on the plains which are near the cordilleras, where some Indians subject to their sovereignty live, and they seize them by the thousand and two thousands and eat them and have others to fatten for eating, and others to serve as slaves: these Indians, out of fear of the chiriguanaes, fled from their land, which had some very beautiful and fertile valleys, thirty and forty leagues from the city of the Plata, and went to some plains and deserts which were customarily deserted because of the lack of water: they live entirely on yucas and cardoons, are more than eighty thousand, etc." /translated from the Spanish/. The deserts under discussion here and where the Chané took refuge are none other than those of the lower Parapití where numerous Chané now live, in spite of the poverty of this arid region.

It is not at all surprising that the Chiriguano have kept alive the memory of their struggles with the Chané. These ended only in the last years of the 18th century. In 1765 we see the

/328 cont./

Chané of Santa Cruz province coming to ask for aid and protection from the Chiriguano who were tracking them down: in 1798 the Chané of the Ityuro were still making incursions against the Chiriguano of the region of Itas and destroyed that mission almost completely. (See Corrado, pp. 98 and 225: Tamajuncosa, p. 211.)

/329/ The Chané tribe did not succumb to these hecatombs or to slavery. It was able to maintain itself on two points of its former territory: on the Ityuro and the Parapití. Several villages whose density is rather great still exist there. The Chané of the Ityuro still number about 1,500. They all live in Argentine territory in the province of Salta. I do not have any statistics for the Chané population of the lower Parapití, but I know these Indians are still numerous there.

Today the Chané are not distinguishable from the Chiriguano by their material culture or their language. They speak Guarani, but use certain locutions and certain words which the Chiriguano say they do not understand and which are perhaps so many vestiges of their ancient Arawak speech. They have kept the latter as a secret language. Nordenskiöld (5, p. 157) was able to collect a short vocabulary of it among the Chané of the Parapití. As was supposed a priori, it is certainly an Arawak dialect closely related to Moxo-Mbaure.

The modern Chané are no longer slaves, but their early condition is still manifested in their relations with their former masters. The Chiriguano always regard them with a certain scorn and a protective air, to which the Chané respond with open animosity. A Chiriguano would feel offended to be called Chané, and a Chané Chiriguano. The name by which the Chiriguano designate the Chané is always Tapii.

Even if historic traditions or ethnic facts were not in agreement to prove the existence in the western Chaco of an Arawak population, archeology alone would suffice to teach it to us. At Tarapeya, Nordenskiöld (5, pp. 40-41) brought to light pottery

C 105 175 [69] [175]

/331 cont./

This migration had as its motive power the attraction which the metal riches of the Inca Empire exerted on the Guarani, and perhaps also certain mystical factors (the myth of the "Land without affliction").

/332/ The famous expedition of García is probably only an episode in this great migration.

Ce [197] [199]

At the foot of the Andes the Guarani found a population of Arawak speech, the Chané, whose civilization had felt strongly the influence of the tribes of southern Bolivia subject to the Inca.

C [198] [199] [619]

The Guarani exterminated part of the Chané, reduced the others to slavery, and took Chané women as wives.

The Chiriguano nation issued from this ethnic mixture.

C [197]

From a cultural point of view, the Chané exerted a decisive influence on the Chiriguano; and it is through them that today certain aspects of the Inca civilization are continued by the Chiriguano.

Ce [197] [197] [198]

On their part the Chané adopted the language of their conquerors, keeping for a long time their Arawak speech as a secret language.

C 195 131

Situation of the Chiriguano in the 18th Century and Today

In the 18th century the territory of the Chiriguano can be defined as follows: "According to Jolis and Hervas, their domain extended from Tarija to the east a distance of 50 leagues (250 kilometers), and from north to south, 100 leagues (500 kilometers). Their frontiers were the following: In the north they reached 17° south latitude and advanced as far as the Jesuit missions of Chiquitos. In the south they reached 22° south latitude. In the region of Salinas, Itáu, and the upper Pilcomayo, they had as neighbors the Matako-Mataguayo and the Toba. Toward the west they had establishments as far as Chichas, Pilaya, Laguna, and Valle Grande. Permanent

C [101]

C [361]

1: Métraux--168 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8
Omaguaca SI9

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/396 cont./

In former times when artists were not lacking, the number of motifs used within each group must have been larger, and in this variety was doubtless found many an element which today seems to have disappeared, only to be met in another zone. It is probable that an ethnographer who might have made a collection among the Chiriguano a century ago would have established a classification other than the one I have tried to outline here.

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Comparative Study of the Basic Elements of the Painted Pottery of the Chiriguano and Chané Indians

1. The Problem of the Chincha Atacama Civilization

The pottery of the Chiriguano and Chané Indians shows such strong affinities with that of the ancient Andean populations from the point of view of form as well as decoration that their relationship cannot be doubted.

These analogies are especially striking among certain pieces /397/ of pottery dug up in the Quebrada de Humahuaca and the ones still made by Chiriguano or Chané women. With an interval of four centuries the resemblance between the pottery of these two regions is still so pronounced that it had attracted the attention of Mr. Debenedetti (2, pp. 134, 149, note 1, and 156), even though he apparently had for his whole basis of comparison only a few rare pieces of very simple Chiriguano pottery collected in the Chaco and of such uncertain provenance that one of them was attributed to the Choroti. The latter in reality, have pottery of an entirely different type, although also influenced by the Andean civilization.

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The affinities of Chiriguano pottery with certain pottery of the Quebrada de Humahuaca have been scientifically established by Nordenskiöld (10, p. 143). This scholar explains these surprising similarities very naturally by the influence the Indians of the Humahuaca region had on their immediate neighbors, the Chané or Chiriguano, and by the trade relations these Peoples maintained.

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/397 cont./ these peoples maintained. These relations between Chiriguano and Humahuaca Indians are historically attested to. At the time of the uprisings which took place during the period of the Spanish conquest, Humahuaca and Chiriguano united to resist the common enemy (see Boman, 2, Vol. I, p. 77).

The yambuí and yapepo, of which I made a good collection in the upper Pilcomayo region, provide new evidence, even more conclusive, of this striking parallelism which appears between the pottery of the modern Chiriguano and the prehistoric populations of northern Argentina. To allow a direct influence of the Humahuaca Indians on the ancestors of the present-day Chiriguano living on the upper course of the Pilcomayo in the departments of Tarija and Chuquisaca would be a point of view difficult to defend. The radiance of the culture of the Quebrada de Humahuaca could have affected only the southern Chiriguano and the Chané of the Itiyuro. As for the hypothesis which would make of the Chiriguano the precursors of this culture, it is so absurd, so contrary to all good sense, that we cannot envisage it here. At the spot where the Pilcomayo gets ready to leave the valley that it digs across the Andean spurs to spread out in the Chaco plain, the Chiriguano had Chicha Indians as immediate neighbors whose territory extended to the north of the Quebrada de Humahuaca in the south of present-day Bolivia. It was they who transmitted the special forms of their pottery and its principal decorative elements to the Chané, who in turn left them to their successors and conquerors, the Chiriguano. Perhaps the Chané have not everywhere been the inevitable intermediaries between the two cultures; in many cases, Chicha groups must have communicated directly to the Guarani invaders the principal products of their industrial techniques and of their arts.

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/398/ We know from 16th and 17th century documents that the Chiriguano constantly made forays into Chicha territory, that they raided their villages, made them pay tribute, and carried away groups of these Indians into slavery, as they did with the Chané. These direct contacts between the Chiriguano and their western neighbors must have contributed greatly to the spread of Andean civilization among them, and

/398 cont./

17 this explains why the Chiriguano culture of the upper Pilcomayo presents such close affinities with that of the Chicha, the Humahuaca, and the Atacama (1).

• 175 648 [01] [177]

1. On the western borders of their territory the Chiriguano were in constant touch with the Chicha, whose territory they devastated and whom they obliged to pay tribute to them.

Lizárraga (Vol. I, p. 282): "the quality of the valley (of Tarija) being known, and the importance of its being populated, in order to check in that direction the Chiriguanas, who had done no little harm to the Chichas there, and they even paid them tribute, named as corregidor, etc...." /translated from the Spanish/.

Lizárraga (Vol. II, p. 117): "he went to Mosquera and returned, and with more than thirty natives, twenty of them Chiriguanas, and the rest indios Chaneses /Chane Indians/ in service, and among them two more illustrious Chiriguanas, one called Marucare and the other par excellence Inga Condorillo, and another Indian of Chicha nation, whom they confined with those Chiriguanas ..." /translated from the Spanish/.

Archivo de Indias (74-4-1, cited by Coni, p. 19): "and in about a month they reached another nation of indios called chiriguanaes, who thus neighbor this city a dozen leagues from potosí, and they carry off a pueblo of indios chichas who are called chupas." /translated from the Spanish/

Coni (p. 21): "In a letter from the licenciado Matienzo he tells us that the Chiriguanaes continued to raze the plains of Manso and, in addition, made frequent onslaughts on the Charcas, where they

/398 cont./

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acted as masters and lords of the land, even to collecting a tax from the Chicha Indians. If they did not agree to this, they ate them and even 'had public meat markets for human flesh.' " /Translated from the Spanish./

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Chicha women certainly shared the fate of the Chané women reduced to slavery by the bellicose Chiriguano and, like them, brought the secrets of their civilization to their masters. On the upper Pilcomayo I acquired a vessel (Plate XXV), a Panpipe (Fig. 67), and a T-shaped ax (Plate XXIII, 1), found not far from the village of Ibopeytí, well within Chiriguano country. These objects reveal either the existence in this place of an ancient Andean population, Chicha or some other one, which the Chiriguano may have annihilated or assimilated, or active commercial exchanges. In the absence of concrete evidence, the influence of the neighboring Andean tribes would have been demonstrated by the very style of the pottery of this region, which more than that of any other point in Chiriguano territory continues a tradition peculiar to the peoples of southern Bolivia.

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Even today the Chiriguano receive from the half-breed descendants of the Chicha silver objects which probably used to be the object of an age-old traffic, and turquoise beads the latter unearth from the /Plate XXV appears here/ /399/ graves of their ancestors. On their part the Chiriguano go to sell ostrich plumes and pieces of basketry to the half-breeds and Quichua Indians.

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Southern Bolivia is very little known from an archeological point of view. The few excavations which have been carried out there testify that the culture peculiar to the Humahuaca valley continues without appreciable modification. The homogeneity of the civilization which flourished in these vast regions will be even more apparent on the day when the decision is made to undertake the systematic study of this immense territory which includes all the altiplano to the north of the Argentinian frontier and the valleys which form the spurs of the Andes at the edge of the Chaco. It is already evident

[Text continues on p. 173]

1: Métraux--382 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Guarani SM4
Tupinamba SO9

/466 cont./

Chapter XI

Combs

C 302 G T [302] C [197] Formerly, at the time when they carried out the conquest of their present territory, the Chiriguano wore a tonsure after the fashion of their relatives in Paraguay and the coast of Brazil, the Guarani and Tupinamba, who shaved the whole anterior part of the skull with a bamboo chip /467/ (see Métraux, 2, pp. 181-185) (1). Later, probably under the influence of the Chané or the Quichua /Quechua/, the Chiriguano abandoned the tonsure and let their hair grow, letting it fall over the nape of the neck and the back. They were content to cut it on the forehead from one temple to the other.

1. Annuae litterae, page 407: "Cultus eorum singularis valde, coronis in modum nostrorum Sacerdotum utuntur, reliqui vero capilli ad ulnam circiter dimidiam pendent a tergo; corpora utplurimum variis depingunt coloribus."
(Their appearance [to the Chiriguano] is truly singular. They make use of a tonsure similar to that of our priests, and others let their hair hang down their backs to the length of an aune and a half. They dye their bodies with various colors.)

C 302 198 This hair style, still common in the last century, is tending to disappear in turn. The only ones who have remained faithful to it are a few old men and the inhabitants of several villages lost in the valleys of the upper Pilcomayo.

C [291] [248] The Chiriguano who continue to observe the old style knot their long hair around their heads and hide it under a hat or a kind of turban when they go to work among the white men, for fear of being ridiculed.

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

175 169 García was killed by the *Guaraní*. The historical character of Alejo García's expedition is amply proved by several passages in documents of the Conquest of Paraguay, mainly in the "Comentaries" of Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca (Hernández, Pedro, 1852, pp. 579-580). The success of this raid prompted many more *Guaraní* to migrate westward. Those from the Río Paraná followed the Pilcomayo River. Those from the region of Asunción entered the Chaco north of that city. The Indians of Jeruquisaba and Carayzapera, that is to say of the country of Itatí, entered the Chaco near San Fernando (lat. 20° S.). According to Díaz de Guzmán, these Indians were the ancestors of the *Guarayú* or *Itatines*, who lived 90 miles (30 leagues) from Santa Cruz.

In a letter written by Martin González from Asunción in 1556, there is the following passage which confirms the continuous migration of the *Guaraní* toward the Andes: "These Indians [the *Guaraní*] go and come back from the lands of Perú. As they have no roads and avoid their enemies, they reconnoiter the land ahead of them, settle long enough to sow crops and harvest their food, and go on. So went those who for long had been settled in the Peruvian sierras and those who go today to meet the Christians.

"In Asunción are many Indians who with their wives and children have gone there two or three times from opposite that city, along a river [the Pilcomayo] that flows 2 leagues from here and comes from the city of La Plata. The Indians from Paraguay have settled by that river and along the Cordillera, over a space of 100 leagues. Some *Cario* [*Guaraní*] have gone to the mountains along another river, 42 leagues down the Paraguay River, which is called the Ypití [Bermejo River]. *Cario* are established in the mountains near the Ypití River, which also leads, according to what those who came from Perú say, to the city of La Plata." (Quoted by Gandía, 1935 a, p. 37.)

Several thousand *Guaraní*, serving as auxiliaries and porters, accompanied Domingo de Irala and Nuflo de Chaves on their expeditions from Paraguay to the foothills of the Andes. It is historically attested that the 2,000 or 3,000 *Guaraní* of Itatí who followed Nuflo de Chaves in 1564 were in part the ancestors of the modern *Guarayú-Pauserna*.

The *Guaraní* not only invaded and conquered the foothills of the Andes from the upper Bermejo River to Santa Cruz de la Sierra, but certain groups went even farther to the north and settled near the border of the *Mojo* and *Baure* country. The *Pitaguari* (*Piritaguari*) were a *Guaraní* group established in the Sierras de Chiquitos, north of the first Santa Cruz. There were also *Chiriguano* around the town of San Francisco Alfaro in the Province of Chiquitos, near the Jesuit mission of San Xavier.

The *Guaraní* invasions, which started as plundering raids along the *Inca* frontier, were prompted by the desire to obtain gold and silver ornaments and copper tools from the *Caracara* (*Charcas, Chicha*) and from the *Chané* of the foothills, who were amply provided with these metals. Probably metal objects first reached the *Guaraní* of Paraguay through the *Chané*, whose villages were scattered across the Chaco from the Andes to the upper Paraguay River. Although the prospect of rich loot was certainly the predominant cause of their invasions, the old *Guaraní* dream of a land of immortality and abundance, the abode of the Great Ancestor, also may have played some part in determining their migrations.

175 ●648 The *Guaraní* finally became such a threat to the *Quechua* towns of the Province of Charcas that an *Inca* Emperor, probably Huayna Capac, built fortresses at Samaypata (Savaypata), Saigpuru, and Guanacopampa to halt their inroads. Sarmiento de Gamboa (1906, p. 105) speaks of Huayna Capac's wars against the *Chiriguano*, of the *Chiriguano's* capture of the fortress of Cuzcotuyo (probably Incahuasi), and their defeat by Huayna Capac's general, Yasca. The ruins of these

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C 175 648

Inca fortresses were visited by Nordenskiöld (1915 a, 1924 a), who described them under the names of Incallacta and Incahuasi. They bear witness to the accuracy of the various traditions concerning the *Guaraní* invasions, recorded by the chroniclers of Perú and of the Rio de la Plata.

C CC 648 195 CC [197] C [266]

Along the Andes, the *Chiriguano* found a peaceful *Arawakan* population, the *Chané*, a branch of the *Chané* or *Guana* tribe, which occupied the northern part of the Chaco along the Paraguay River. The western *Chané*, after centuries of close contact with the Andean cultures, had been deeply influenced by them. They dressed like their neighbors, the Andean *Chicha*, produced a pottery which resembled that of Southern Bolivia and of the valley of Humahuaca, wore metal ornaments, and used metal tools. The *Chané* fell easy prey to the *Guaraní*, who slaughtered and ate many of them and reduced the remaining population to a condition of serfdom. The *Guaraní* invaders, having brought few of their own women, however, took *Chané* wives. The fusion of these two tribes produced a civilization in which Andean, *Guaraní*, and some *Arawak* features were intimately blended. The *Chané* did not entirely lose their identity, however, for along the Parapetí River, in the Caipipendi Valley, on the Itiyuro River, and in the Province of Salta (Argentine), *Chané* villages survived under their own chiefs. But even these have adopted the *Guaraní* language and today cannot be distinguished from their conquerors. The *Chiriguano*, nevertheless, consider the *Chané* somewhat inferior, while the latter remember the forays and cannibalistic habits of their former masters. The *Chané* language, probably extinct now, was spoken by a few persons as late as 1908.

C [186] CC [197]

C 175 648 162

The number of *Chané* is said to have greatly exceeded that of the *Guaraní* invaders. They extended from the Rio Grande (Guapay River) to the Argentine along the foothills of the Andes. At the beginning of the 17th century, according to Ruy Diaz de Guzmán, in the region of Machareti, 400 *Chiriguano* ruled over 5,000 *Chané;* in Charagua, 350 *Chiriguano* owned 4,000 *Chané* serfs; and on the Guapay River, 200 *Chiriguano* kept 1,000 *Chané* in subjection.

C 175 648

The first White settlement in the land of the *Chiriguano* was the ephemeral town of Santo Domingo de la Nueva Rioja, founded in 1564 on the upper Parapetí (Cordorillo) River by Manso and destroyed a short time later by the *Chiriguano*. In 1571 the *Chiriguano* attacked the *Chicha* and the natives of the Provinces of Condorillo and Barranca. To punish them for their "arrogance," the Viceroy of Perú, Francisco de Toledo, led an expedition against them. The Indians avoided battle and harassed the troops of the Viceroy until he was obliged to retreat in shameful defeat (1574). San Lorenzo de la Frontera, which became the modern Santa Cruz de la Sierra, was founded primarily to keep the *Chiriguano* at bay.

C 175 797 648

The first attempt to convert the *Chiriguano* to Christianity was made in 1609, when two Franciscans, Augustín Sabio and Francisco Gonzalez, built a church in the valley of Salinas, but the reduction was soon abandoned because of Indian opposition. The Jesuit fathers founded a college in Tarija in 1690 and undertook the spiritual conquest of the *Chiriguano*. In 1691, Father Arce founded a mission in the valley of Tariquea, which lasted only 3 years; another mission, established on the Guapay River by Fathers Zea and Centeno, met the same fate. At the beginning of the 18th century, the Dominicans founded three missions in the valley of Chiquiacá, Nuestra Señora del Rosario, San Miguel, and Santa Rosa, while the Augustins formed the Mission of Santa Clara in the valley of Salinas. In 1715, the Jesuits reestablished their ancient mission of Tariquea. In 1727, all the missions in the *Chiriguano* country were destroyed by the rebellion of the chief, Aruma, and his followers, who feared being taken into slavery. The revolt was crushed by an armed expedition sent from Santa Cruz and composed of Spaniards, "tame" *Chiriguano*, and *Chiquito* auxiliary troops. The *Chiriguano* had been aroused against the missions by the fear of being taken into slavery.

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

In 1732, the conversion of the *Chiriguano* was entrusted again to the Jesuits. Fathers Julian Lizardi, José Pons, and Ignacio Chomé entered the southern part of the *Chiriguano* territory and founded the missions of Concepción and Rosario in the valley of Salinas. About the same time, the Franciscans built a missionary center in Tarija and in 1757 they sent missionaries to the *Chiriguano*. In 1767, they reestablished the mission of the Purísima Concepción de Pilipili. After the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767, the Franciscans continued their work with great success. Between that time and the end of the 18th century, the Franciscans founded many new missions north of the Guapay River (Río Grande): Abapo, Mazabi, Cabezas, Piray, Igmiri, Tacurú, Iti, Parapetí, Itau, Tapera, Iguirapucuti, Tacuaremboti, Piriti, and Obaig. Some of these were annihilated when the Indians rose in arms in 1796 and 1799. During the war of independence, the Franciscan missions were completely abandoned. In 1845, the Franciscans resumed the conversion of the *Chiriguano*, and built a series of new missions from Itau to the Parapetí River. The more important of these were San Francisco, Tarairi, Machareti, Santa Rosa, San Antonio de Huacaya, Ivu, and San Francisco del Parapetí. In 1886, a messiah called the *Chiriguano* to arms against the Bolivians by assuring the Indians that they had nothing to fear because their oppressors' guns would only "spit water." The messiah and his followers were defeated near Cuevo.

In 1929, the last missions were secularized, and the *Chiriguano* lost the protection of the Franciscans. Many of them migrated to the Argentine where they were employed as skilled workers in the sugar factories. The Chaco war spread havoc in the *Chiriguano* villages at the foot of the Andes. The *Chané* of the Parapetí River then put themselves under the protection of the Paraguayan army, and today they live around the fort of Toledo, intermarrying with Paraguayans, whom they consider to be their kinsmen, "because of the close relationship between both *Guaraní* dialects." These *Chané* are sometimes erroneously designated as "*Guarayos*."

The 16th- and 17th-century chroniclers estimated the *Chiriguano* population at only a few thousand, exclusive of their *Chané* vassals. In 1810, there were 23,936 *Chiriguano* in the Franciscan missions. This figure includes only half the *Chiriguano* tribe, as the pagan members south of the Parapetí River were not reckoned. Cardús (1886, p. 242) gives the following estimate of the *Chiriguano* during the second half of the 19th century: In the province of Acero, 18,000; in the Cordillera and in the region of Izozo, 20,000; in the Chaco, from 5,000 to 6,000. Of these, only 8,000 were captured and 3,187 lived under missionary care. In 1928, the total *Chiriguano* population was said to be 20,000. Today, after the Chaco war and constant migrations to the Argentine, their number must be greatly reduced.

ARCHEOLOGY

Few archeological finds were made in the region occupied by the *Chiriguano*. Nordenskiöld (1924 a, p. 40) mentions burial urns and ancient sites on the Parapetí River, and similar burials were discovered at Tarupayu. In some graves the dead were seated and were covered with several inverted bowls piled on one another. These bowls have hollow rims filled with pellets. Nordenskiöld refers also to direct burial in urns which show the characteristic corrugations of the *Chiriguano* and *Guaraní* ware.

At Yumbia, in the Province of Tarija, at the borderline between *Chiriguano* and *Quechua* territory, the present author obtained fragments of pots with hollow rims, an anthropomorphic vessel with ring-shaped body covered with a red slip, and a specimen of beautiful stone panpipes with

/4 cont./

131 Thus formerly the Chiriguano territory in the north was contiguous with the province of Sara, in the south and southwest with Argentina and the city of Tarija, in the west with Tarabuco country, and in the east with the colony of Carandaiti. According to its former boundaries, it then included an area of 200 leagues from north to south and southwest, and more than 90 leagues west to east.

131 16 [648] Today this extensive territory has been much reduced because of emigration, caused in part by the whites, under whose dominion most of them will not resign themselves to staying; the plagues which decimate the race have a powerful influence on its further reduction, and very soon /5/ barely the 131 name will remain. Today to the north it scarcely reaches Abapó, to the south, Itiyuru de Yacuiba, to the west, Monteagudo, and to the east, Carandaiti, some hundred leagues from north to south and about 40 from west to east.

131 648 [433] Formerly it embraced several degrees of latitude and three and a half of longitude; as they lost a considerable part of this area, so will they end up by losing it all, for despite their being heirs to the country which God had given them, as one of them was saying to me not long ago, they do not know how to farm it and improve their agriculture; they prefer to go far away and work for others rather than to own land at home. This very day only a few leagues remain in the hands of the Indians, Caipipendi in the province of Cordillera, Gutierrez Canton, and all the territory occupied by the missions, but both are likely to pass into foreign hands, because in fact the Indian is incapable of making the land that he does possess bear fruit; then the few survivors in the territory will be servants in their own house, as are so many others in lands that were once their own.

311 134 [132] The land is very unstable, at least that now occupied; it lacks stone and gravel, and since in their season the rains are torrential, they easily open cracks which in a few years become wide, deep ravines. Contributing a great deal to this are the cattle, which, because of their weight, stir up the land with their hoofs more than other livestock; for this reason

/6 cont./

133 comfortable to go down as to go up, if an occasional short
[241] section be excepted. The hill of Padilla attracts the attention of
[361] all; there grow and ripen well both potatoes and maize, and the hill is sprinkled on both sides with houses of all sizes. From January to May the fields give it a quite picturesque and pleasing appearance as it rises some 2,340 meters above sea level, for which reason no doubt it is unforested with the trees which are found nearby growing exuberantly on the plain toward Monteagudo along the rivulet called Limón.

Next come the hills called Huacangui, Bartolo, and Cazaderos, the first two found on the right bank and the latter on the left bank of the Acero River, which touches the slopes of the last named; the three have no peculiarity, only that they are tree covered, rather high, and the road through
[136] them is very bad. Cazaderos Hill abounds in jaguars, and it is the same hill which must be crossed or climbed in order to go from San Juan del Piray to San Pablo de Huacareta; before one climbs this hill near San Juan, there is another small one called Ñañoloma, which attracts the attention of all because it is very narrow, low, and straight; it is a straight line which rises in the middle of the valley and continues without ending to the southeast; the Piray and Parapiti rivers wash the base of Ñañolama.

/7/ Monteagudo has a somewhat irregular plain, but it is not interrupted by hills until three leagues away, that is, at the Parapiti River in Matara, where there is another hill renowned only because it is a road and an extremely bad one. The Parapiti River bathes it at its base, and along the river itself the way is very boldly opened through the hard rock, forming a waterfall there; this same hill must be climbed to leave Ingre Canton, as well as Igüembe, where the passage is also quite rough.

133 From Matara to Ivu there are hills and rises of little im-
173 portance, if one makes an exception of the hills of Itiranti,
• 648 Saararenta, and Incahuasi, which last separates the province of Acero from that of Cordillera; on Incahuasi there are an infinite number of ruins of fortresses and houses, which, according to what they say and the name Incahuasi, "Inca's House," was an encampment of Quechua Indians, when, at the orders

/7 cont./

133 [173] [248] of one of their emperors, they tried to conquer all the Chiriguano, but they had to halt at the top of said hill without daring to go down to the pampas of Caraparicito, where they were awaited by all the Indians, allied with the Toba.

Cuevo, like all of the cantons of the frontier, is shut in by two ridges, that of Saararenta to the west and that of Aguaragüe to the east, the latter being the last one which is found; it is quite high, measuring 1,500 meters, and with it end the cordilleras in the east, giving way to the plains of the Bolivian Chaco.

From the peak of Aguaragüe the view is most delightful; to the right can be seen the picturesque panorama of Cuevo Canton with its hills, lakes, fields, forests, and stream, which, with its sand, looks like an immense ribbon of homespun twisting through the entire region, and to the left extend the immense plains, lost to view in the distance. From this peak can be seen the lakes and fields of Carandaiti, until the horizon is lost in the pampas inhabited by the savages.

The above-named ranges of the former and present territory of the Chiriguano continue to the north and south to Santa Cruz and Tarija and Argentina, assuming different names in each place, but they are ramifications of the renowned Andes. I have crossed the last one, Aguaragüe, to Santa Cruz, and it passes north of that city, as well as on the southwest toward Tarija and O'Connor Province, ending in Tartagal in the Argentine Republic.

/8/ Rivers and Lakes

It can easily be understood that this immense area and extent of land, crossed from north to south by so many mountains of all heights and dimensions and by a great number of hills in every direction, would be furrowed with rivers, torrents, streams, brooks, and abundant springs, while in the Gran Chaco all of these disappear and natural and artificial lakes and ponds begin to appear.

/23 cont./ some trees[1] are covered with long
137 sharp points and others are not, only having an occasional im-
824 perceptible sharp point; the fruit of both is pleasant and serves
[439] for gifts and trade for the Indian, who sells it to the whites,
[431] the ones who, rushing to get rich more quickly and easily, are
[648] little concerned about the nopal and the fig tree. In Chiriguano
it is called "Saini."

PALM or PALMER. -- The palm tree has congenial places, where immense forests are formed and sometimes grow all around a lake like a great garland; it is a very tall and smooth tree without a single branch. Its leaves are in the form of a
[435] fan and are used to make hats and for sieves, which are sold
[342] for 30 or 40 centavos apiece. The wood is good for joists in houses, and it is also split into shingles for roofs and is quite durable, if the precaution is taken of cutting them after the full moon. In Chiriguano it is called "Carandai," and the place which they occupy, "Carandaiti," palm grove.

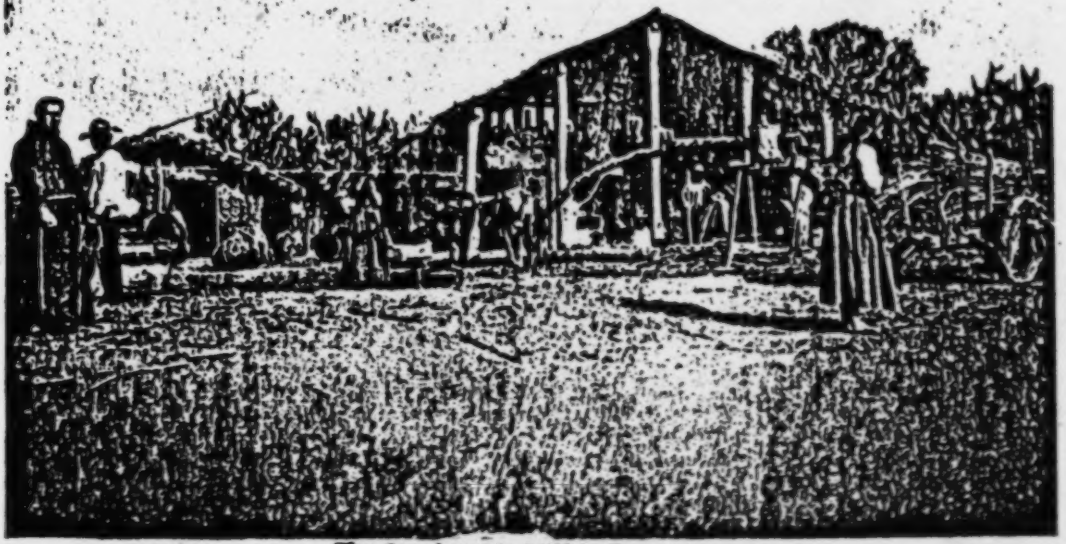
PALMA CHRISTI. -- A not very durable plant, it grows to a height of four meters, has a soft, hollow trunk, large leaves, /24/ and flowers in the form of a bunch of grapes. The seeds are found inside little burrs, like chestnuts; said burrs in some plants open by themselves in the warmth of the sun, while others must be opened or carefully broken with a little hammer or a stone. The name indicates that it is a beautiful plant, but this beauty is in the broad, abundant petiolate leaves. There are several types with reference to
[757] size and quality of seeds; I know five kinds. Castor oil is
[302] extracted from this plant or from its seeds for use as medicine; we use it in the missions to fuel the lamp of the Blessed Sacrament, and the Chiriguanos mix it with "Achiote" seeds and put the resulting cosmetic on their faces and on their calves down to the feet. In Chiriguano the plant is called "Causiro," and the oil, "Yandi." Even the leaves of the
[959] palma Christi are medicinal, some being hot and others cool; thus when headache is a result of overexposure to the sun, the leaves of the white spurge are applied; if, on the other hand, it is the result of high humidity, the leaves of the red spurge are applied. The seeds of the dark purple spurge are very small, but contain more oil than others.

[1] [i.e., nopal trees, -Analyst]

4: Nino--94 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

797 848

Establecimiento Azucarero de la Misión de San Antonio Parapiti.



The San Antonio Mill in Parapiti.

/67 cont./

173 never name dead persons, with the result that the principal
[551] events are not known because the names of those great persons who took part in them are not known. The present ones know nothing about the many wars which were waged against the Quechua before the Conquest, after the enthronement of the Inca Yupanqui (1400), and /68/ against the Spaniards during the time of the colonization, the oldest people know little more, and we only know somewhat more through the Spanish historians and missionaries of the various religious orders of Paraguay and Bolivia.

173 Through their oral tradition they assert that their origin
167 was in Paraguay, that they multiplied there, and that when
● 648 the New World was discovered, because they had killed one of the Portuguese captains, they feared the revenge of his companions and fled en masse along the shores of the Pilcomayo River until they arrived in the region which they occupy today, displacing other natives who were in possession of these places (1).

1. This must refer to the flight of the 4,000 Carious who joined up with the Chiriguano here.

173 Nevertheless the oldest and most notable because of their
648 authority in this place give the impression that they originally came from Brazil. They say that in ancient times they had a formidable war with the whites who came from far-off lands; conquered by them because of the inequality in arms and their expertness in the art of war, they were pursued until they entered the plains of the Gran Chaco, which they crossed, coming into Paraguay. During the campaign they defended themselves and built fortifications at several points, of which I know four: one is in Gutierrez, two in Cuevo Canton, and the fourth in Curuyuqui, which belongs to the San Buenaventura de Yvu Mision, where the uprising and defeat of the Chiriguano in the year 1892 took place (2).

726
712

2. I recently explored this last. It is one meter deep and one wide, and goes from the stream of Cuevo from northwest to northeast.

/68 cont./

126 712 covering an area of about 2,000 meters; it ends in a hill surrounded by the same foundations. It had its lookout and a small plaza and dominated the whole area.

172 712 These fortifications have stone foundations, are made artfully, and are very large; consequently it is not credible that they might have been built by Indians who were even less civilized than the present ones. I believe, rather, that it was the work of the conquistadors, who, following the example of Columbus, Cortez, and Pizarro, built them for protection from the Chiriguano arrow; the extent of these walls and the height of the lookouts do not suggest anything 173 else. The old men add that when they were pursued some 648 of them hid in the mountains out of fear or because they were tired and that these then populated the region (3).

3. This must refer to what Father Cardús says about the time when the Cruceños /people of Santa Cruz/ settled at the place which today is occupied by the city of Santa Cruz de la Sierra.

174 /69/ From what has been expounded it can be deduced that the Chiriguano race is most probably of Paraguayan origin; the inhabitants of that region also say this to those who annually go to work in the haciendas of the Argentine Republic and to the Indians who in past years went to Corumbá from Yvu, Caipipendi, and Parapiti. For example, they told them that they knew of the existence of a place named Yvu and of another called Parapiti, frequented by their grandparents who had formerly visited their relatives, the Chiriguano. In addition there is a tradition that in a not too distant time many families settled thereabouts traveled from time to time to visit their relatives who lived on the banks of the Paraguay River.

/69 cont./

194 197 In support of the aforesaid is the language, which differs little from Guaraní, spoken in the Republic of Paraguay, in various parts of Brazil, and even in Corrientes, and language is an irrefutable argument for one or more nations, but inasmuch as this language is very reduced in the latter places, and it was general in the former (Paraguay) until a rather recent period, it might well be concluded that the Chiriguano originated in Paraguay.

● 648 797 This Nation is attempting in our times to enlarge or extend its domain into the territories occupied by the Chiriguano, especially as far as degree 22, where almost all of the missions are located, including those of Parapiti Grande, which are located at 19°58' latitude south of the meridian of Paris. Bolivian diplomacy has powerful arguments to uphold its rights, with the support of the missions, principally those of Parapiti, whose first founding goes back to the eighteenth century. The Franciscan Father Narciso Llamedo built there a moral and a physical edifice, whose vestiges can still be seen today, by authority of the Most Illustrious Archbishop of Chuquisaca and supported by the Royal Audiencia of Charcas. Neither the Chiriguano language nor the invasion of this race gives any right to Paraguay, because all authors and explorers are in agreement that this race did not exist here before the thirteenth century. In the fifteenth century the Chiriguano were visited by the Inca Yupanqui with a large force of men from Cuzco. Later, in the sixteenth century, the resident viceroy of Lima vainly attempted to humiliate the pride of this race, and finally everyone sees that the Bolivian Nation has exercised full authority here since before and after the war of Independence, and that the missions have progressed and are progressing in the shadow of the Bolivian flag, which has always waved in these remote lands.

194 Someone might observe and say: Why, when the Chiriguano /70/ emigrated from Paraguay, did they not settle on the banks of the Pilcomayo and on the immense pampas of the Gran Chaco? At first glance this question constitutes a grave embarrassment to one who does not know the race, but it is easy to answer it satisfactorily. All barbarous tribes remain in

/70 cont./

174 241 311 Consequently it was very natural that the race which was emigrating from Paraguay should seek out for its needs better lands which would permit it to make good use of its natural inclination to cultivate "Abati," maize, "Gilindaca," gourds, and "Cumanda," beans, because from the names that they give to all of these vegetables, it can be deduced that they did not get to know them after the discovery of America, but long before; and the same is true for the domestic animals, "Yaimba," dog, "Uru," /71/ chicken, "Minta," cat. What is certain is that the Chiriguano race has been distinguished and is distinguished from the others which still remain in the savage state, and the Toba, as well as the Mataco and the Choroti, regard the Chiriguano as nobles and masters, and they serve them in exchange for maize and other things, and there has never been a natural marriage involving a Chiriguano man or woman with the tribes named (1).

174 548 563

1. The Toba are more intelligent and more easily reduced than the Mataco; the latter were also exposed to the missionaries of San Antonio del Pilcomayo, located on its right bank.

The Toba have generally assisted their masters in wars and have lived for long periods among them, especially in the time of good and abundant crops. They did this before the missionaries opened Cuevo and Ivo to trade with the founding of the Santa Rosa and San Buenaventura missions, and they still do in the Franciscan missions of Machareti, Tigllpa, and Tariari, because they are near these tribes.

174 167 The places that the Chiriguano selected for their residence after the migration were the mountainous one and the one visited by frequent rains, necessary so as not to lose the fruit of their labor, and in fact we do not see this race settled in places away from the mountain range, nor in impenetrable forest, good only for those tribes in a state of

175
645 /72 cont./ The Inca Yupanqui
promoted many wars against the Chiriguano with the intention
[175] of conquering them for the Inca civilization, but his efforts
were in vain because his army was always conquered by the
ferocity of the Chiriguano, who also had in his favor the fact
that this was his own land and as a result he knew it well
enough to be able to play tricks on the Inca militia with ease.

It seems that the Incas in their insistence on civilizing
the Chiriguano brought their armies to the frontier of
Cordillera Province. In fact there exists along the top of the
range which divides this province from that of Acero and
from Sapirangui Canton a fortress of great size, all of it
made out of well-set stones, called "Incahuasi," "house of the
Inca," and gives this name to the whole range, whose elevation
to the south was set up by the law of interdepartmental de-
marcation as the boundary between Santa Cruz and Chuquisaca,
when in the year 1896, the law of settlement was negotiated.

[192] Inca-huasi is a compound word of the Quichua /Quechua/
language: the Chiriguano language does not even have a
word which resembles it: it is thus very probable that that
fort was built by the Quechua and that, inasmuch as the
forces were personally directed by the Inca, he should have
ordered houses to be built along the whole top of the range,
as can still be seen today (3).

> 3. The road from Camparicito to Monteagudo
> through Incahuasi is not an old one. Don
> Octavio Padilla had it opened.

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169 It is also a verified historical fact that after the dis-
covery of Brazil and other regions of South America, 4,000
Indians fled from Paraguay, because in the many wars which
they had waged against the Portuguese, they had killed
the leader. Fearing general destruction, they came into
Bolivia along the banks of the Pilcomayo River: in the Gran
Chaco they found the region near the cordilleras occupied
and inhabited by the ferocious Chiriguano. /illustration ap-
pears here/ /73/ but since they could easily make themselves

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 105]

4: Sino--106 M-3 (1910-1911) 1917 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

/73 cont./ Before a century had passed after the discovery of this New World, they were numerous in the area near and beyond Santa Cruz de la Sierra. The founders of this departmental city had quite a fight in the year 1575 in order to humble their pride, disperse them, and take charge of the territory: the Chiriguano lived in the areas around Padilla and Tarvina, which were founded precisely to contain their advances, since they seemed determined to invade the territory of Chuquisaca itself, whose Audiencia ordered the creation of both settlements so that they might serve as a bulwark and impede successive new advances, new attacks, and devastations.

The city of Tarija with its territory owes its founding to Don Luis de la Fuente, who was ordered there by the Viceroy, Don Francisco de /74/ Toledo, by decree of January 22, 1574. On that date, Don Luis with his army entered the valley of Tarija in order to put down the audacity of the Chiriguano, who were advancing with their arms into the places conquered by the Spaniards. Don Luis and his soldiers were greatly surprised when they found the said valley full of a great quantity of wild cattle, which was to be a powerful aid to his troops (1).

1. It is believed that the wild cattle found belonged to a certain Zárate, who had been forced to leave his ranch by the Chiriguano, who had doubtless made him their victim.

/75/ Before the Spaniards arrived and invaded the country of the Chiriguano, they were the torment of the surrounding tribes, the members of which they shot with arrows, or killed, and took captive, subjecting them to the cruelest slavery. But once the whites arrived, they had to have it out with enemies superior to themselves: fearing that some day they would have to pay for the casualties which they had exacted from those whom they had conquered and whose fertile territory they had taken over, they did not act like the Quechua, who surrendered when they might well have [Lie, the Chiriguano. -Rudolf]

/74 cont./

175 648 wiped out the few soldiers whom Francisco Pizarro led into Cajamarca, overpowering Emperor Atahuallpa by killing 5,000 Indians.

The Chiriguano, better advised than the Quechua and their emperor, formed great armies to combat the invaders, and these were defeated many times by the terrible host; on other occasions they destroyed their fields in order to make them perish from need, and other times they made captives of the women, after having killed the men and other younger males.

175 777 The unequal struggle lasted for centuries, and finally they were conquered little by little by the missionaries. The latter, with only the Cross and preaching, obtained greater victories, because whereas the whites presented themselves to the barbarians with superiority of arms, sowing devastation and making the rivers run with blood, the missionaries presented themselves with humility, sowing the divine seed, and conquered them with the word of the Gospel.

The barbarians recognized the difference between them, and while in the beginning they destroyed the first missions, killing a missionary priest (?), when they understood more

> 2. The Chiriguano Indians of Ingre Valley set fire to the mission of the Jesuit fathers and plucked from the altar Father Lisardi, who was killed by 17 arrows in the mission plaza, dressed in his sacramental vestments.

perfectly that the priest proposed the conquest of their souls /75/ and the defense of their country, they delivered themselves completely into the hands of the missionary, not in order to be educated as Christians, but in order not to lose their independence. Only through the agency of the missionaries is the vast country which includes a distance of more than 200 leagues from north to south and more than 60 from east to west entirely open today to trade and civilization. The Jesuits were slowly replaced by the Franciscans, who

/79 cont./

178 464 [197] [162] Chaco and O'Connor Province, 5,000, in the Tarija missions there are 4,500, and in those of Potosí, 3,905, which makes a total of 26,405, including men and women, big and small, old and young. But of this number there are scarcely 8,000 day laborers, or strong men fit for any work, and what is the extent of land in Chiriguano hands through their own will or that of others? Some 140 leagues from [131] [465] north to south, more than 40 from east to west; if today the cultivation of these lands is difficult, tomorrow it will be impossible; if today it is hard to pay 40 centavos to the day laborer, tomorrow they will not be found for 80 centavos.

●648 [167] There is a great struggle under way between the Chiriguano and the white; the latter struggles to increase his fortune and hacienda at any cost and tries to dominate and does dominate the Chiriguano, as one who is nobler and more powerful; the former struggles for his existence as long as he can, but, because he is weak and inferior, yields to the power of the white; when his spirit has been broken by the superior force which dominates him like a slave, he disappears and imperceptibly emigrates to a place where he is treated with more apparent humanity, though not certain and real, but which the Indian does not recognize (1).

[464] 1. According to references, the day laborer in Argentina earns 25 or 30 nacionales per month, without food, which in a foreign land is expensive for the Chiriguano; nevertheless, since the clothing and the animals which the company sells are not expensive, the day laborers who are economical and not given to drink come back well clothed, bringing a horse or an ass or clothing for his children and wife.

178 197 361 From this /80/ it follows that the large towns of former times and the very missions which antedate South American independence have in some cases disappeared entirely and others are on the point of disappearing.

/80 cont./

797 Because of the intervention of political authority, the present missionaries will fall heir to the same fate, if the law of the department is not changed, because, it seems, they have dropped to the category of agencies of said authority and of all the Christians who are continually coming here in search of hands; and H. Montero's proposal will not only aggravate the situation, but it will leave these regions without workers for agriculture and cattle-raising. It is certain that labor makes man more moral, 46 648 797 but it must be confessed that the Indian is lazy and opposed to working for the whites, whom he considers the usurpers of his lands. They will voluntarily go to work where they are treated with humanity, but where they are allotted the worst food and hard labor, they go with repugnance, despite the suggestions of the missionaries.

The caciques who respect and follow the missionary's orders become tired of continually seeking laborers for the whites, because they are aware of the unwillingness to obey; the result is that sometimes both Indians and caciques hide in the country, and when they get tired of this, they go away from the mission for a long time, leaving their families in misery. The missionaries struggle to gather the dispersed ones together again, but it often happens that the efforts of several months are lost in one night or in a few days, and in spite of the laws that exist in Bolivia, nobody has con- 46 cerned himself with Chiriguano emigration. Reasons for the disappearance of masons, carpenters, shoemakers, and musicians are not lacking at the present time, since the most important thing is to get apparently luxurious clothing from head to feet, which cannot be obtained here very easily, either because they spend the money on other trifles or because there are no companies which provide all facilities to the laborer (1).

1. Today the whites who mistreat the Chiriguano are few. When a day's pay was fixed at 40 centavos, there was some difficulty, which has now disappeared; the Indian is now earning

/88 cont./

797 "Historia de las Misiones" (1).

> 1. The whites call this place "Ibo," giving rise to the Cuevo-Ibo question debated so much in the legislative chambers. The jurisdiction of Cuevo today extends from the Irenta range to that of Aguaragüe from west to east and in the north continues to the Parapiti River; Camatindi and Tacuaranti ought to belong to Ñancaroinza, just as Itatiqui, Ipitacuapi, and Caimbeti, as far as the Parapiti River, should belong to the Carandaiti canton.

4. Santa Rosa de Cuevo. -- This mission was founded in the year 1887. Fifteen kilometers separate it from the previous one by an entirely level road, and today it has a population of 1,238 inhabitants, while at the time of its founding or a few years later its population reached 2,115, as is stated in the Historia of Father Angélico Martarelli (2).

> 2. During the Chiriguano uprising of 1892 the mission was the saving refuge of all the inhabitants of the Cuevo canton, and during the campaign it was made the headquarters. Colonel Frías, Colonel Chavarría, and General Gonzalez, with their respective troops, and many other militiamen, with their leaders, were there.

[648]

Its buildings, located on a very prominent hill, have the appearance of a fortress from whatever direction they are observed; when they are considered in terms of their solidity, beauty, and topographic level, it is difficult to find others like them in these parts. Its panorama is delightful; /illustration appears here/ /89/ it is surrounded by fields and hills very beautiful to the eye and pleasing to the heart, just as its inhabitants who breathe that perfumed air are pleasing. In the distance the hills of Aguaragüe to the east, those of Irenta and

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 128]

/91 cont./

Cuevo

361 175 [103] The town of Cuevo is located on the left bank of the torrent or stream of the same name. Before the war of the year 1875, and even later, it was known by the Chiriguano who lived there as Ñumbicte, which means "halfway field," and in fact it occupies a beautiful level place located almost midway between the ranges to the west and those to the east.

Almost all of the first white inhabitants were from the department of Santa Cruz, and it is an undeniable fact that Colonel Víctor Antezana moved to the region of Cuevo-Ibo with some militiamen from Lagunillas and built a fortress where the public cemetery of Cuevo is today, and another one where the church of San Buenaventura of the mission of Yvu has been built, both works which are owed to the constancy and activity of the Franciscan missionaries of the Villa Imperial. The fortresses are later than 1875.

[797] [648] Subsequently, the town was formed under the protection of the missionaries themselves and around the Cross of the Savior; it was completely burned by the Indians in the uprising of Curuyuqui in 1892, but the inhabitants of Cuevo who did not perish, with the assistance of the flourishing mission of Santa Rosa, built anew and in better condition the new town, which continues to progress today.

175 648 [361] In the war of the year 1875 all the Chiriguano of Cuevo-Ibo and Huacaya, together with the treacherous Toba and guided by the great cacique Corone, who lost his life in the torrent of Baecua opposite the town of Igüembe, rose up as one man to overwhelm all the whites in the region.

/92/ In this critical situation the intrepid subprefect of the province of Acero, D. Antonio Menduiña, with the militiamen from Monteagudo, San Juan del Piray, Huacareta, and Ingre, flew to the region of Igüembe and with these people overwhelmed the innumerable and ferocious host, reducing it at once to impotence by the slaughter of Caipipendi.

/92 cont./

361 648 Cuevo had belonged by law from long before Independence, and still belonged by right of conquest after the defeat of the barbarians, to the department of Chuquisaca, but the Representación Crucefia /representatives from Santa Cruz/ has constantly demanded the region of Cuevo-Ibo as an integral part of the territory of Santa Cruz.

The current legislature has ended this much-discussed matter on the basis of the law of 1898. Cuevo consequently now belongs to the department of Santa Cruz, because that law fixes as the interdepartmental boundary the left bank of its stream, which is about 150 or 200 meters from the town.

[197] Even the Representación Tarijefia /from Tarija/ has been consulted in this matter and has fixed its boundaries at the right bank of the stream of Camatindi; this was based on the same law and on the fact that the territory was settled by Christians from Tarija and was won over by the Franciscan missionaries from the Colegio of the same city since before 1875. Tarija still retains the region of Caipipendi, which belonged to the Huacaya canton.

When the interdepartmental arrangement is finally made, Sucre will lose a zone of 12 to 14 leagues from Cuevo to the right bank of the Parapiti River, and another eight leagues or so from the right bank of the Camatindi stream, not counting the incalculable zone lost toward the east. Here is the law promulgated: /the remainder of p. 92, p. 93, and six lines, including a footnote, on p. 94 are omitted in the translation. The remainder of p. 94 follows./

Ibo or Ivu Canton

631 648 Once the interdepartmental problem is solved in a friendly fashion, according to the bill approved in the Chamber of Deputies in this year of 1912 and promulgated as the law of the nation, the department of Sucre is prepared to elevate to the rank of canton the region of Ibo or Ivu, the capital of which might be the San Buenaventura Mission, located at this very place.

/94 cont./

If this were the case, the boundaries of the new canton should be the following, according to the agreement made by the Representación Chuquisaqueña /from Chuquisaca/: on the south the left bank of the stream Vitiacua, on the north the parallel of the stream of Cuevo, on the east the range of Aguaragüe up to said parallel, on the west the ranges of Saararenta and Irenta, and on the southwest the stream of Chimbe.

Within this delimitation are included several Chiriguano towns, the most populous being the missions of Santa Rosa, with more than 1,200 inhabitants, and that of San Buenaventura de Ivu with 652 souls.

White families are few, but not less than 40, which could give a total of at least 160 souls. It might be that with time this small population will grow in the new canton, as that of Cuevo grew.

Years are needed for the Chiriguano Indian to be able to take over the political government of a town, in spite of the fact that in the relatively new missions there are musicians, carpenters, woodworkers, masons, saddlers, shoemakers, tailors, and young men who know how to write well and to read better, but it is one thing to know an art or a trade and quite another one to have to administer justice.

/95/ The experience of many years of missionary life and what I have seen in the missions abandoned since the war of Independence justifies my opinion that many years are needed for the Chiriguano Indians to be able to fill certain public offices such as that of corregidor and parish alcalde.

A Project

The eastern zone, which today belongs to the three departments of Santa Cruz, Tarija, and Sucre, is somewhat threatened by foreign countries, but it might be that the Bolivian Republic could make friendly settlements with the neighboring nations.

/95 cont./

000 These disputes are prejudicial up to a certain point, inasmuch as they impede the free colonization of the Bolivian Chaco, which would not be the case if everything were peaceful in those remote regions.

Once the friendly settlements were made and the spirits of the settlers were calmed, the region would be colonized more, which would increase the number of inhabitants. If this were the case, it is my opinion that in a short time the Government of Bolivia could establish a new department in the Gran Chaco. The Chaco is open to commerce and to civilization throughout its area, many towns exist there, and, in them, commercial establishments; one can pass through the region without any danger, and the Chiriguano race receives the traveler with demonstrations of affection and subjection. /The remainder of p. 95 and the first sentence on p. 96 are omitted in the translation. Page 96 continues as follows./

Cayuguari

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• 648
[103] Cayuguari is the name given to the country inhabited by an Indian of the same name who fled from Machareti with others in the year 1856 or 1857; they settled along the lake of Cumbarurenta, four leagues to the southeast of Yrentagüe, and subsequently withdrew 20 leagues farther to the east, because in the company of Toba, Tapiete, and other tribes they had committed innumerable cattle thefts, for which they were constantly hunted by the settlers of Carandaiti, where a picket detailed from Aguairenta is stationed today.

The flight of the Cayuguari Indian to Cumbarurenta first, and today to 52 leagues from Carandaiti, was not due to the death of Captain Taruncunti, murdered by the Macharitefios /persons from Machareti/ Barapiche, Arasuque, and Yepoina, residents of Avay, but to their disposition and outrages committed against their relative, Mandepónai.

/96 cont./

175
●648 The expedition entrusted by the Supreme Government to an Englishman, which was to enter the Cayuguari region through Picuigua (water for dovelings), can be said to have failed, because the two attempts which it made were without result and it had to return in order not to perish because of the absolute lack of water.

~~080~~ Picuigua is some 12 leagues distant from Cayuguari. Picuigua is a dry lake, but, with drilling, sufficient water can be obtained for the garrison of the fort which is to be established, should it turn out that the news of the existence of a permanent lake in Cayuguari, where there are some 50 families, is false. /The last paragraph of p. 96, p. 97, and the first three paragraphs of p. 98 are omitted in the translation. The remainder of p. 98 follows./

Itatiqui

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[131] The town of Chiriguano infidels with which I head these few lines is located 11 leagues from the Franciscan Mission of San Buenaventura de Ivu and seven leagues from the missions of the Parapiti Grande, at 19° 43' 13" latitude south of the meridian of Paris, and at 60° 29' 42" west longitude.

797
361 The Colegio de Misiones Franciscanas de Potosí is trying to establish in this place a Misión Convensora which would depend on the Fathers established on the banks of the Parapiti River. The idea is eminently civilizing and progressive, because this place is located along the highway which, coming out of Yacuiba, passes /99/ through Charagua and ends in the city of Santa Cruz de la Sierra.

In the journey from the little town of Buyuive to the Parapiti Grande, there is no other town which might be able to provide services for the travelers and the vehicles which traverse it every day without being able now to count upon any assistance in their difficult crossing.

797 The Indian of Itatiqui is too poor and lazy; it is necessary to get him moving and watch over him so that he may become useful and progress; in his territory there is no water, nor are there artificial lakes so that he and his livestock

/99 cont./

797 might drink, but these latter could easily be obtained with well-constructed dams; but someone to direct him and make him work is lacking.

With the founding of a Misión Conversora the Indian would have the guarantees which at present he does not possess; he would live in his town, which was reorganized not long ago, with the prospect of being protected by the missionary; he would establish his artificial lakes, and the traveler would have a place in which to rest and to sleep, in guest houses, without any danger either to his property or to his physical health.

•648 The Supreme Government has been more concerned with this advancement in the region of the Gran Chaco. It issued its decree for a measure of the lands of three leagues more or less in extent which they had possessed ab immemorabili, but when steps were taken to lay out the lines, it turned out that another private party had set boundaries, leaving for the Indians the town and a small parcel of uncultivated lands, and the latter quite limited. Because of the measures taken by this private party, the Indians have lost all of the cultivated land of Igüitiyapi, near which the said private party has undertaken the considerable enterprise of establishing an artificial lake in the place called Caapirenta, pointing out that the measure against the Indians was performed in the same year, 1911, a few months before the order of the Supreme Government in favor of the natives was put into effect.

820 In order that the good intentions of the nation and of the missionaries of Potosí might not come to naught, the Supreme Government should give an impartial person the commission to set himself up in the place, to seek data on the Indians and other well-intentioned people, and subsequently to give a conscientious report so that just decisions might be made. /The last paragraph on p. 99 and the first four paragraphs on p. 100 are omitted in the translation. The remainder of p. 100 follows./

/113 cont./

165 [145] advanced age. and I have seen Indians with the head completely white. and others with a white the color of smoke or something smoked. In the performance of my ministry I have met and baptized many centenarians at the time of their death. and in the towns through which I have passed I have met several who fought in the Caraparí war and who witnessed the War of Independence.

273 276 [178] But today the Chiriguano has degenerated greatly: in somewhat distant times they did not know about either liquor or coca. and today both are general. and because of liquor and coca. the use of which they much abuse. they ruin their health and shorten their existence. Much youth disappears with the abuse of these substances. and as a general rule in the missions the best disappear. those who know some art or have some fortune; all that they earn. after buying their clothing (although not always). they invest in liquor and coca. and [165 178] thus shorten their lives. I have seen towns where out of 40 or 50 young men of the same age there are scarcely two or three alive who will reach 50; it can thus be seen that the drunkenness produced by chicha is not so pernicious as that of liquor or alcohol. for which any tax imposed on them by the Supreme Government is never too much. and would that such a tax were higher. more general. and that it was not felt to be enough simply to write it out. In spite of this dissipated life. it is [142 149] very rare that one encounters a bald Indian. which indicates great robustness (1).

1. I have known many large and small Chiriguano towns; I have only found three semibald persons.

Morality

181 At present the Chiriguano Indian differs slightly or not at all morally from the common mass of men. I mean that not all are good nor are all perverse; there are good ones and bad ones

4: Nino--157 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

181 /114/ the same as everywhere else, so that certain travelers who say Indians are very bad would be wrong, as would those who call them very good. A celebrated explorer said not long ago that he found more goodness in an Indian than in a white man and that it is enough to notice only with average attention the face of the two to be sure of the relative morality of both; as a missionary I neither can nor should consign to these pages my judgment in this regard (1).

1. The same explorer approves of the resolute attitude of the Curuyuqui uprising, taking the point of view that they were fighting for their independence and for the recovery of their territory.

186 L48 Before the conquest so gently carried out by the Catholic missionaries took place, it was extremely dangerous to enter their territory, even just in passing, and not too long ago it was difficult to pass through the Cuevo-Ibo countryside, where the Franciscan missionaries of Potosí founded their missions, as they had founded those of Tarija in other regions. There was reason for the danger to exist.

The Indian now knew the white man by his deeds; he called him and still does call him caray, that is, astute, greedy, oppressor, and owner of what belongs to other people; if then he looked with misgiving upon the caray and up to a certain point did not wish to have relations with him, it is because this extremely bad image had been formed, from which arose the idea of not wanting to have a bad neighbor in his territory, and he blocked his way in order that he might not come to like the fertility of the area. He was wise to the fact that after exploration comes reconnaissance, and from this rises the desire to possess, which sooner or later is put into execution, as has been the case (2).

[113] 2. Giannecchini. Expedición al Alto Paraguay, año 1883.

/114 cont./

648 721 Once the conquest had been completed through the work of the missionaries and through colonization by the inhabitants of several departments, the Chiriguano had to submit to the rights of the stronger; on several occasions he tried to raise his head by means of general uprisings, such as the one of 1875 and the one of 1892 in Curuyuqui de Cuevo-Ibo, but they succumbed because of the difference in arms and because the whites were well situated (3).

[113]

3. Martarelli. Addition to the Historia de Misiones del Colegio de Potosí, which deals with the Curuyuqui war and the beginnings of the founding of the San Buenaventura de Ivu Mission.

648 178 /115/ A new uprising seems unlikely today because they are few and because the territory is populated by whites who have taken over the territory by right of conquest and through purchase made before the Supreme Government, but the Indians have not resigned themselves to permanent servitude, having once been lords of their house and land; their pride has been put down by superior forces, and most of them endure their fate with resignation.

To be sure, it is a fact that the Chiriguano of today is not the Chiriguano of other times; he is not the one who fought so tenaciously against the soldier of the Inca army, against the Spaniard, and against the Bolivian soldier himself. This change has taken place, I shall say once more, through the loss of territory and his independence, and in repeated struggles of extraordinary tenacity, which only resulted in aggravating a bad situation, and in the loss of their most beloved people and of their lands. For better or for worse they have had to submit to the laws of the Government of the Republic, which still exercises supreme authority over them, in the missions, where it is embodied in the conversores, in the provinces in the person of the subprefects, and in the cantons in that of the corregidors, who generally make use of the cacique or the alcalde to

/115 cont./
obtain the participation of his people when some work of public utility is ordered.

Dominant among the Chiriguano are idleness, inconstancy, intemperance, thievery, infanticide, abortion, and even suicide, which is generally committed by the women. They only work when it is necessary and when they are overcome by want; then they will sweat in order to eat, and then with all humility they appear at the house of a Christian and deliver themselves into his charge with the whole family. But if near the carai /sic; see caray, p. 157/, they find another of their own race who might favor them, even though it be disadvantageous, they do it, because they abhor the one whom they consider the author of their misfortunes or of their captivity. Therefore whenever they speak of the carai, they append the adjective pochi, bad, perverse, tyrannical, rascally, etc.

They learn very easily everything that is taught them, especially music, for which they seem to have been born, but their fickleness ruins it all; they are not set in their ideas nor do they worry much about any loss, even that of their honor. Temperance is not even known by name, and drunkenness is glory, and for that reason in years of plenty, there are continual orgies in their towns. Thievery and cattle-stealing are relatively recent; they were not common formerly, and the cause is probably that of bad example. In certain areas young cattle disappear from sight, and they are so united that the facts are not easily uncovered. Only after /116/ some time has passed or because of enmity will some fact come to light (1).

1. In their peaceful denunciations they urge great secrecy so that the authorities will not make public their names, out of fear that the person informed upon may take revenge with the use of poison or witchcraft, and, if the crime is not proven, the authorities can do more than reprimand and admonish.

/120 cont./

578 Out of these general wars were derived other private ones, which civilized people called affairs of honor--dueling. This does not happen in private, as occurs among civilized people, who go off to a determined place with 578 their respective seconds. All is public, in the presence 541 of many people who come to drink. It is /121/ the caciques who incite their soldiers to match their strength and to avenge with crime an affront or an unfounded jealousy. When this happens, with or without a reason, the fighters place themselves in the midst of a whole crowd of spectators in the presence of the caciques, who urge them on with a word of command, while the poor angry men hit each other cruel blows.

578 Boxing is ancient, because formerly knives were not 412 known and, if they had them, they only used them in 178 their work in the fields. Now the picture has changed: 167 the young are succeeding the old, and these young people 464 continually go to work in the Argentine Republic. There they learn how to drink pure liquor, to handle the knife with which they are armed for their work, and to defend themselves. One small word is enough; it is enough if one says yainano, let us fight, the word of challenge, and knives are unsheathed, and then blood flows. Fortunately, they usually are content with inflicting wounds which rarely bring death because they do not deliver the blow with the point of the weapon but with the edge.

167 This mania for going off to the Argentine Republic has 464 them in continual movement, and, unfortunately, many of them remain for years, to return finally bringing almost nothing with them, and if one asks them, they answer very 167 rudely, "I drank it all." Last year's law has made recruit- 464 ment impossible. Several Indians went off, but they could 648 not get through Villa-Montes and returned (1).

1. If the authorities in Villa-Montes and Yacuiba continue to capture the Indians who are trying to escape, the law will not be in vain this time.

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The Santa Rosa Mission Band

135 /145 cont./
Caraparirenta there is an occasional stone of this, which has been brought there by water.

In Huacaya Canton, along the shores of the Pilcomayo on the lower slopes of the hills of Oriente, it is asserted that there must be mines or deposits of gold. A stream brings little nuggets to certain places. Almost all the whites there say that the Indians *pick up these nuggets, sell some of them, and work others into* rings or earrings for their wives, but up to now, however hard the whites have tried to discover the place, they have never found an Indian who would take them (2).

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2. They say that in the woods on the peak of a small hill there are two bells hanging from a tree and in another place a building with two

4: Mino--210 M-3 (1890-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

/153 cont./

756 278 and does not know how to do it goes to the sorcerers, pays them, and obtains it.

This seems to be a fable which in itself does not merit any importance, as indeed it is not given any by Father Giannecchini, who does not deny it in his writings, as Señor del Campano states. Poison exists among the Chiriguano. They do not extract it from chamico, which is a species of datura, nor do they extract it from other plants or herbs. The sorcerers reveal nothing; the young people do not know about it, and the few old people who are alive only tell what has been said above. Be that as it may, this is a belief of the tribe, and as such I have told it.

Lunar Eclipse

821 One night while waiting for a lunar eclipse, I found myself in conversation with the cacique Andiari of the mission of San Buenaventura de Ivo, and I was reminded of something which I remembered regarding this phenomenon which was about to occur on the moon. Chiriguano towns are true hells during an eclipse, because of the shouts, cries, whistles, and every warlike instrument which they use to make noise. When I came to the missions, /154/ the war of Curuyuqui had just happened, and when I heard so much and such an extraordinary hubbub on the night of an eclipse, I believed that it was a new uprising, as was also believed by the inhabitants of Cuevo, who came out armed to find out the cause of so much noise (1). [114] [648]

301 533 114 1. The Italian professor Mantegazza states that the Chiriguano, in order to whistle loudly, take out the tembeta or button which they have in their lower lip. This is incorrect and denied by all; what the renowned anthropologist refers to must be a special case, since they cannot even drink without the button.

/157 cont./

Principle of Authority

600 The principle of authority is innate in humankind and to attempt to destroy it is madness. Ever since man came into the world, the principle of authority has existed, as can clearly be read in /158/ Genesis: Sub viri potestate eris et ipse dominabitur tui; thou shalt be under thy husband's power, and he shall have dominion over thee.

As it is innate in humankind, through guilt more than through necessity in the beginning, the said principle has always been in effect everywhere. There is no nation, no matter how barbarous, which does not recognize this principle as a necessity, and to attempt to destroy it, as the anarchists wish to do, is to wish for the impossible. The Tubicha, great one or authority, say the old Indians, emanates from God himself, and that is why it begins with the same letter. The illustration placed at the beginning of this chapter /see p. 214/ shows several caciques of the San Buenaventura Mission; only the one in the frock coat and cane (Anduari) did not take part in the uprising at Curuyuqui (1).

[551]

1. The Indians in the illustration are: Asicayu, Asucari, Periquiyu, and Guarerai to the right of the cacique Anduari; Chipa and Patiri, or Patricio, at the left.

• 648 The entire region has today been explored and is under the power of the whites, who first entered with the permission of the owner (ab immemorabili), and after having taken possession, they have made themselves owners, buying lands as property of the nation. Some might believe that the Chiriguano liked to live in great centers, when it is known that formerly they were very numerous, but one who passes through the territory will soon understand that each tribe is at most made up of some 40 families and that in each tribe there is a cacique who is dependent upon another greater one, whom they call Tubicha rubicha, great of the great. In one league of territory or even less, an explorer, or passer-by, or sojourner can still find four or five Chiriguano tribes at short distances.

619 361 [622] [643]

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721 648 Gfiracoti was inferior to Yaveau in number of soldiers and in personal valor, but with his lies he obtained the assistance of the Indians of Yuti, Choreti, and Parapiti Grande, and even of the whites who had entered the Cordillera country and were living in Lagunillas (1).

1. Gfiracoti led the whites to believe that Yaveau was intending to rebel against them: hence he was able to get the regional cacique of the Parapiti, called Chituri, to come with him.

726 729 (648) The large number of the enemy sowed panic in the camp of Yaveau, who, along with many others, had joined up the Toba. The first battle was lost, and he had to hide with his people on the slopes and hill of Irenta, but, once recovered from the defeat which he had suffered through the superiority in numbers and differences in arms and in races, he soon went in search of the enemy, inflicting numerous casualties among them, and Gfiracoti had to leave his tribe, retiring to the left bank of the Parapiti River, in order not to fall into his rival's hands and be run through by his powerful arrow and have the misfortune of having his head separated from his body, which on the point of a spear, would have been exposed to the ridicule of large and small in the enemy camp.

622 594 It is natural for men passing through a strange town to go to the political authority for their needs, as happens in the missions. Many people when they pass through Indian towns, naturally go to the cacique's house: the latter receives those whom he considers greater with the kindness and courtesy that distinguish the Indians of the Chiriguano race: for this reason some explorers have believed that it is the duty of the cacique to receive and provide hospitality for transients and strangers, but I can state that they are mistaken.

/167 cont./

Abuse of Authority

692 621 643 The Indians who today live under the paternal rule of the missionaries state that formerly caciques committed thousands of abuses: speaking of caciques still alive, they said that they seized everything that belonged to the poor and defenseless Indians, made use of maidens and women of others took possession of horses, cows, sheep, goats, and rags or clothing of their subordinates under any pretext, and in certain cases, as absolute mandatory, life was not safe either.

682 In verification of the last, I am going to relate the following: Before the reorganization of the missions of San Antonio and San Francisco del Parapiti Grande, an Indian strangled his own son and half buried him in the sand near the bank with the aim that any sizable rise would soon carry him off, but before this could happen the deed was discovered, not by betrayal by his wife, whom he had threatened to kill, but by the wheeling about of vultures which were beginning to strip the already decomposing flesh (2).

[643] 2. The murderer of his own son belonged to the upper town and was hanged in public in the lower town where the regional cacique, who was the authority of the pronounced Parapiti Canton, resided.

692 643 682 When the regional cacique had been advised, inquiries were undertaken in order to speak to the evil-doer, and it was not difficult to find him because he was a well-known Indian. Taken into custody and brought before the authority, he confessed his crime. In order to prevent another greater crime the canton authority attempted to intervene, but the regional cacique made it clear to him that justice would be administered in an exemplary fashion by him and that the corregidor, whose subalterns were the whites, should not involve himself in the matter at all.

[649]

/163/

643 For these reasons the authority yielded and left it to the
680 cacique to deal with the culprit as he deemed best, following
692 his barbarous customs. Rather than complicate matters, the cacique had two forked sticks of medium height set up, with another piece of wood set between them. He called together all the inhabitants of both towns and in their presence in broad daylight condemned him to the gallows, and the execution was
[671] immediately performed. The cacique has no written laws; he does everything by tradition and applies punishments such as the one related as a deterrent to others, to remove evil from his region, so that the life of the delinquent and the good may be respected and that he may be feared (1).

622 1. When a servant does not manage to ac-
643 complish what he has promised, because he
756 perhaps did not help him, it is the cacique's
646 prerogative to order the death sentence and
692 burning.

Separation from Command

622 The dismissal of a cacique is a very simple thing when the
631 abuses he commits are unbearable. In epochs prior to the
643 present time, the oppressed Indians were beginning to withdraw from their obedience to other peoples, and since the latter find it difficult to be able to live in strange lands, they ended up by having recourse to the regional cacique, who in turn declared them free from such obedience, naming another more humane person of the same tribe or who had resided for some time in it.
●649 This has become easier today by agreement with the political
646 authority of the Republic, but there is the greater problem that
464 when an abusive cacique has been dismissed and another named
622 by the political authority, he is sent to be subject to all the
643 demands of the whites to provide them with posts, and the latter, who do not like the yoke or the caray /white man/, become impatient and emigrate.

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643 469 464 466

A fact that confirms what has been said happened in the Caipipendi region. The regional cacique Tengua was succeeded by his son Cariti, who, because of the grave errors that he made or was supposed to have made, was dismissed, and the native Tarüire, who apparently at least had very good qualities, was named in his place. This latter, selected by the whites with the consent or nomination of the Indians, had to return the favor of his benefactors who had elevated him and consequently to respond to all the demands and requests for peons, and one time the poor Indians had to go to Santa Cruz as a guarantee for the /164/ unhappy Indians who feared that, under the pretext of jobs in the city, they would be taken to the Beni (1).

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1. In El Beni men are sold for 1,000 Bs. and women at a lesser price. Baron D. Erland Nordenskiold gave a lecture in London proving that slavery exists in Bolivia and Peru.

This concern of Tarüire and suspicion of the Indians originated in a publicly known event which took place in the year 1905, when a party of Indians sold to the rubber plantations were taken from there; rumors of this event spread rapidly through all the newspapers of the Republic, which expressed disapproval of it, and at that time I saw whole groups of families who, with all of their possessions, emigrated to other lands.

643 641 554

The result of this is that today many Indians obey Tarüire, not out of love or loyalty, but out of fear of the harsh punishment which the political authorities would immediately impose on them; and the cacique is now beginning to tire of this task which is so odious for him, for he wants to be tranquil in his home and to enjoy peace. He has repeatedly said this to me and he would be satisfied if they would renominate Cariti, for whom the Indians hold proper respect.

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622 643 648 566 46 Nevertheless, there is no doubt that the cacique of a large number of Indians, like Tarüire, derives great benefits from his office. While the annoyances are continuous, the income is regular, because generally the caray who makes a request for peons always gives their daily pay to the cacique and alcaldes, and if the former visits them in their houses, they save certain considerations for him in the interest of obtaining peons in the future; interest can do much (2).

2. They keep everything they receive from the whites to buy liquor and little for their clothing.

62 595 It would be a very rare case if a Chiriguano cacique did not have issue, it being known that each one lives with several women, privately and publicly, in his own and other tribes, and this is not only the privilege of the caciques; even the subalterns are polygamous. They often marry a widow in order later also to be with the stepdaughter with the knowledge of her mother, who consents to it through fear, out of concern for food, or for a miserable garment (3).

[797] 3. The vice of polygamy is being pursued in the missions, not only among the Indians but even among the caciques; some admonition should come first, however, to convince them and make them understand the ugliness of the vice.

622 [555] [556] /165/ Upon the death of the cacique of a tribe, the oldest son then succeeds, but, if in fact he dies without issue, the closest relative takes command, or, lacking one of these, some prestigious brother-in-law, if he is liked by the tribe; otherwise someone in the town who combines the best qualities in his person is chosen, and if an Indian enjoys some good fortune in cattle, sheep, horses, etc., he is the chosen one, who is respected and obeyed because of the goods that he has at his disposal for guests and even for treating his subalterns (1).

[661] 1. When a cacique is completely poor, he

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643 [721] In the case of a regional war against another region, the great cacique calls a parliament and consults all the caciques, /166/ counselors, and sorcerers in order to arrange matters perfectly and avoid surprises. When the war has broken out, as he is the most important man, he takes charge of the battles, even leading them personally to a successful conclusion, and, should a defeat be suffered, he does not cringe in defeat, but prepares anew, encourages his soldiers to fight more vigorously to take revenge, and is unlikely to suffer another defeat. This is what happened in the regional war of the great cacique Gũiracoti against Yaveau, in which, the latter having been defeated by the former, as I have already related, he retired to the slopes of Irenta and from there marched on his enemies, causing numerous casualties and obtaining a complete victory (1).

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[648] 1. In the Curuyuqui War there was a cacique named Chaparilla and another named Tunpa, but, as this war was against the whites, Tunpa took charge of the military operations.

643 631 Chituri, a regional cacique, was succeeded by his son, the late Azari, in the entire region of the Parapiti Grande, Itatiqui, Tacuaranti, and Ururigua. Yaveau was obeyed by all the Indians of Itiyuru, Curuyuqui, Ivu, Igũipinta, and those of Santa Rosa, living on the right bank of the Cuevo River; subject to Gũiracoti were all those living on the left bank of the same river as far as the right bank of the Parapiti; the subjects of the late Tengua were the Indians of the left bank of the same Parapiti up to Gutierrez; the subalterns of Machirope were, as was told me in the same year 1901, all the Indians of Ingre Canton, Igũembe, and Huacaya from the right bank of the Parapiti to the left bank of the Pilcomayo, which includes an area of 24 leagues from north to south and 15 east to west, and when an effort was made to found a mission in Yumbía, on the left bank of the Pilcomayo, Igũembe Canton, he insisted to me that we should not bother them any more because neither he nor the

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Indians wanted it (2).

2. The regional cacique Tengua died in 1900, Machirope in 1905, and the others who have been named in the middle of the nineteenth century, except Chiturí. Baringai of Igüembe is considered a regional cacique without being one; he is the oldest known Indian, at least among the caciques.

Today only one of the former regional caciques is still living. This is Mandepónai, who must be about 84 years old, a very robust and obese Indian with a constitution of iron. His authority extends throughout the Gran Chaca. He is respected and obeyed up to a certain point by the Toba, Mataco, and Choroti, and other known races; he is very well received in the other regions through which he passes, and his authority is not contradicted elsewhere, but is not respected either, /167/ because at the present time the Chiriguano element too has almost radically changed its political system: today it is the political authority which rules, and the cacique is a humble servant of any caray who comes to him asking for peons.

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The Machareti Mission exists through his efforts, and he has always been faithful to the missionaries. In the Curuyuquí War, the Tunpa tried to get Mandepónai to use his influence to make the Toba and Chiriguano of his region revolt, as Tengua did, but the great cacique was not to be moved; instead he and his people went over to the side of the Santa Rosa Mission and the white Christians who had taken refuge in it.

At that time some whites, perhaps because of their hate for the missionaries of Machareti, tried to implicate Mandepónai as an accomplice of the Tunpa, but this calumny was belied by his praiseworthy procedure. He gave warning of the day on which the rebels were to burn the mission, went personally with his soldiers to Santa Rosa on January 27, before the final battle, and there confronted Tengua, accusing him of treason to the whites. His loyalty to the missionaries is to his glory.

/167 cont./

643 and when he addresses his people he does not fail to remind them
648 that if they enjoy peace they owe it to him, for he consented
649 to the founding of their mission; more or less the same thing
797 is said by other caciques or their successors, through whose in-
662 fluence the missions have been founded (1).

1. When the slander against Mandepónai was believed, the delegate Chavarría went to Machareti with all his forces to punish the cacique, but nothing came of it because it all turned out to be false.

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Chapter Six

Towns, Houses, and Work

Introduction

The glacial period and horrible icy places with their new flora and fauna in the dawn of the Quaternary era, a mysterious period for certain modern unbelievers, holds no mystery whatsoever for true believers, who see in it, or in its sudden appearance, a punishment for the disobedience of the first man. Adam sins, and the land, until then so beautiful and fecund, is covered with snows and ice, with brambles and briars; before his sin, no shelter was needed, but, as a result of rebellion against the Creator, he was laden with needs. /The remainder of the introduction on pp. 168-169 is omitted. The following illustration appears opposite p. 169. The remainder of p. 169 follows./

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Modern Houses

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A Chiriguano house offers nothing special in appearance, but even those of the mestizos who have settled in their country are of the same form and not rarely worse, because naturally since the mestizo is not very fond of physical labor, because he is not an Indian, it is necessary for him to call on the energy of the latter, and the native is not always inclined to lend him this or that service, from which it follows that their houses are inferior (2). /Illustration appears here./

2. I am speaking here of the houses that the mestizos or whites build in the countryside where they live; in the towns their houses are normal; they almost all have tile roofs, and there are also some which are white-washed.

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/171/ House in the Chiriguano language is called Ho, which is different from what they call Tapi, but. The latter are common in large towns and belong to the lazy people, wanderers, and even the poor. It must thus be understood that the construction of a Chiriguano house is a work of no small importance and care, if one considers that the Chiriguano is poor, so poor that he only has available an ax, a shovel, and a knife, and not always these. Because of the importance that I give to this construction, many who do not know these regions could believe that the houses are very fine, but there is nothing fine about them. None of them is beyond the rank of cabins.

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I believe that it is indispensable to describe the way of constructing them and the elements available to the Chiriguano in order to carry this out. If the Indian has some luck in sheep, he pays some of his companions with sheep so that they will help him gather the principal timber, and should this wealth be lacking, he begins to cut and strip bark in the woods by himself, selecting timber of good quality, straight and resistant to the action of water. The principal pieces are generally six posts

[Text Continues on P. 235]

/182 cont./

323 avoid the loss of her reputation as a worker or master of an art which provides her with money and subsistence, despite the low price of the vessels (2).

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2. There exist some Christians who in their area prohibit the unfortunate Chiriguano women from removing clay from some good veins. For this and so many other reasons, as has been observed by the illustrious Father Pierini, the savage sees in the white, not a brother, but an enemy.

Before going on to the manufacture of the vessel, jar, or plate, the potter provides herself with a potsherd or several of these, depending on the size of the work which she wishes to do; if she cannot find it in the corners of her house because there are no broken pots, she borrows one from her neighbors, and if they do not have any or do not wish to do her the favor, she breaks one of the inferior and smaller ones. In the missions or wherever there are ovens to fire tiles and bricks, the potters can do without a potsherd; they find pieces of well-fired bricks or tiles around the ovens, and with this the primary material is complete.

/183/ Then she submerges an appropriate quantity of clay in water, as much as may be needed for the piece she plans, and she leaves it there until it is completely softened and can be kneaded better than wax. Meanwhile she reduces to the finest powder the potsherd, brick, or tile which she has managed to get, sifts it in the finest sieve, Unupe, that she possesses; next she kneads the softened clay, making sure that it does not harden too much, puts in it all the sifted powder, and mixes it so that it forms a perfect union with the clay, and leaves the lump thus prepared until the next day.

The potter, after having cleaned her house and her person as well, and having fed her children, sits down near the receptacle which contains the raw material, extracts an amount of clay, and begins to knead it, shaping it into the

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643 648 797 Regional caciques are now very few, and they themselves are submissive servants of the whites, who do not let them live as they would like very much, but in matters referring to morality do let them live as they wish. Only the missionary makes them understand that such a life is contrary to divine law, but the Chiriguano refuses to understand this.

595 574 829 643 The important men assert that to possess many wives is necessary for the preparation of chicha for offering hospitality to guests and visitors. This excuse is not satisfactory, because the cacique in the town where he resides is like an absolute king, and nothing is easier than to command his subordinates or relatives and always have his favorite drink; no matter how much of it he may want, he can always ask for more for himself or for his guests.

595 622 [582] The subaltern caciques in general are bigamists, but they do not become such in their youth, when they are like hummingbirds, but at 40 or 50 years of age. This happens when the first wife is older than the husband, or his eye is caught by another younger woman whom he brings to his house as soon as he has her in peaceful possession. He at once orders the old woman to respect her. If she is quiet and consents, she continues working and serving her rival in the interest of food, but if she is not quiet, she receives a good dose of the stick, is thrown out of the house, and does not get back into it. But there are strong-minded women who do not allow the desecration of their home /illustration appears here/ /205/ where they have lived for years and have children of both sexes, who are then left behind because the man moves to the second wife's house (1).

[162] [169] 1. Formerly, women were abundant because of wars. Today they are abundant because of the emigration of the Indian men to the Republic of Argentina.

[text continues on p. 279]

/211 cont./

853 262 There is no special food or more abundant food for mothers after childbirth. She who gives her breasts to her little one eats little and extremely poorly. Her ordinary food is parched maize, parched maize meal, bread made of the same, herbs, beans, gourds, other things of this nature, and rarely a little purchased beef, other meat from animals that died from sickness, lack of pasture, or snake bite, and, finally, game or chicken. In spite of this extremely bad food, milk is abundant in her breasts; the children are almost always hanging from them and sucking and never seem to dry them up, which indicates that they are excellent nursers.

• 648 464 853 Mestizo or white mothers who sometimes have little or no breast milk because of sickness or some accident make contracts with Chiriguano mothers, pay them well, and treat them better, but it seems that continued good and satisfactory nursing harms them, /212/ it also being prejudicial to the breast as well as to both newborn babies, the weaker child succumbing first (1).

1. Naturally the Chiriguano women refuse to be wet nurses for white children, because they abhor them. When through experience they learn of the sad consequences, communicated by others, they resist even more and only do it when force or the right of the stronger prevails.

845 [63] [65] Twins

Multiple births are rare, and those of two children are frequent. In the former case the newborn babies die very soon, and in the latter case one almost always lives, and many times both live. When twins survive or through the death of the mother a newborn child is left an orphan, it is very easy for the grandmother to care for one twin or the orphaned child. Although the old woman may have reached or passed 60, she

736 603 [853] [824]

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Chapter Nine

Children. Puberty. the Tembeta (1)

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1. This will deal with the puberty of the girls and the imposition of the tembeta for boys. which is carried out a little before their puberty. so that when this does appear they will have the mark of manhood.

Introduction

797 533 At the beginning of this chapter /see p. 294/ my readers will see a small band of young. luxuriously uniformed musicians with a Franciscan missionary at their side. These [126] are the musicians of San Buenaventura de Ivu. whose photograph was taken on the pastoral visit made by the renowned and wise Delegate General M. R. P. Wolfgango Privaser. illustrious and glorious in the seraphic religion. on the 23rd day of September. 1908. His secretary. the intelligent Father Angel Domáica. was the one who was charged with taking this group and the others in the Potosí and Tarija missions.

• [648] All the musicians are Chiriguano boys whose fathers were in the 1892 uprising in the fields of Curuyuqui. half a league away from what is today the mission building. which at that time did not exist. They are the sons of fathers who all wear the tembeta and of mothers who in their puberty underwent the strict tests which I shall relate in this chapter.

175 648 Their fathers declared war to the death. not on the Cross. but on the white. be he Christian or not. because he saw in him a tyrant and hangman. and he wished to cast off the yoke by destroying the one whom he considered its maker. But it is certain that the Indian in his hate and rancor. which he has consistently maintained /illustration appears here/ /217/ against the caray /white man/. did not know how to make a categorical distinction. because not all have had hearts. If there are some bad ones. real executioners of humanity. there are also very good and compassionate ones. from whom they received and still receive favors.

/217 cont./

175 648 [799] The parents of these youths would not have thrown themselves into a disastrous war if the Supreme Government had quickly decreed the founding of the mission which they desired, as can be read in the history of the Colegio de Potosí; in it is clearly seen what the Ivu people did to try to have the presence of a missionary father, because political authority always showed itself to be humanitarian with the unfortunate Indians.

It has now been 19 years since that bloodletting, and still the pampas of Curuyuqui are sown with human bones: one can still see traces of their fortifications, where they fought like lions, with such unequal weapons: the memory of that horrible and destructive occurrence is still retained (1).

1. Some 500 men and women died in the war, but almost all were outsiders: the others, who knew the place, saved themselves by taking flight and hiding. They do not like to have anyone talk to them about this uprising.

799 87 648 [175] As a consequence of the war the decree to found the mission came, and just a few days after the defeat the measuring and laying out of the necessary land was done. Today fathers and sons live tranquilly: some of them have gone on to a better or to a worse life, many have experienced the paternal government of the missionary, which they do not tire of praising. The sons have learned the religion and practice it. They have learned the alphabet and read books. They have learned religious singing, and several of them know and play the music which has been taught to them by the missionaries. 799 It is truly surprising to see the changes which have been brought about in such a short time in such bellicose Indians! This is the virtue of the Cross! Others could have done nothing, as nothing had been done or will be

-s Nino--329 M-3 (1895-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

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Chapter Ten

Agriculture, Animals, Food

Introduction

The Holy Bible, when it gives us the account or tells us the story of the fall of the first man, makes it clear to us that God, after having made known to him the fault committed, announced to him that he had incurred the punishment of having to seek out and provide himself with food through manual labor and the sweat of his brow.

Actually the land, which up to that time had spontaneously produced in abundance everything that man could have desired, became full of weeds, brambles, and thorns when cursed by God as a consequence of Adam's sin. /The remainder of p. 236 is omitted in the translation. The following illustration appears opposite p. 237./

/237/ Why are there so many weeds and thorns in the forests of America? Because it is little cultivated, uncultivated, because one element is missing, the laborer is missing, and God said that, without labor: Tribulos et spinas germinabit tibi. Let us leave to one side the unexplored territory and confine our consideration to the entire Chiriguano region, which is inhabited today by whites and blacks, or Indians.

The white man wishes to put in practice what, according to the story, was predicted by the Aguara-Tunpa when he made them choose the weapons. The white man wishes to be served and to ride upon his showy and spirited horse, to wear his firearm in his belt or his dagger in his boot and, like a great lord, force the Chiriguano to serve him in exchange for food or money, and thus, for agriculture, the arm of the white is almost a dead one. There are whites who call themselves agriculturalists or farmers because they have many Chiriguano young whom they order and direct to work in the field for their own interest and profit.

/237 cont./

648 464 466 It can be said with all certainty that the only laborer in the four provinces of Azero, Cordillera, O'Connor, and Gran Chaco is the Chiriguano, who is found even beyond Santa Cruz de la Sierra, where he also works, taken there by the authorities or by the owners of the lands, which they bought in ancient times for a trifle (1).

[425] 1. If one is to credit what the Indians say, in some places land was acquired by barefaced trickery /leva raida/ at the time of Ferdinand VII; in other places, for three or four arrobas of cheese, and in the last ones, for a cow, a poncho, a few varas of cloth, or a few bottles of liquor given to the cacique.

178 [169] Today the Chiriguano, very abject, in many places suffers in resignation what, according to the story, he did not want yesterday; in other places he is migrating the better part of the time, that is to say, when his presence is necessary for the general planting, to which of necessity the old people must devote themselves if they want to live without dying of hunger and in order to be able to welcome the migrants when they return for a few days to show off their new clothing, their work from other regions, to sell it immediately for very little, to slaughter some cattle of their own or of their elders, and to go back at once without even saying good-by.

Property Rights

648 [241] The object of the present chapter is to describe the method of cultivating the land when the Indians lived alone in the country, before the whites had moved in among them; now they scarcely give them /238/ room to do their planting as best they can. Nonetheless, since they keep them continually occupied, food and clothing are never lacking to anybody in a Christian's house, where the Indian gets them

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for himself, for his children, and for his wife (1).

1. Perhaps without intending to do so, the whites have done and are doing a work of charity for the Indian, that of moralizing him somewhat through work, during which he neither gets drunk nor thinks of trifles, etc. Only in some places a little moderation is needed in order not to discourage him.

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It was also the Aguara-Tunpa who taught the Chiriguano the cultivation of land, since, seeing that he had not been able to remedy his misery and needs by handing over the bows and arrows, he once again visited his poor hut, and seeing him thin and emaciated, he gave him all kinds of seed so that he might make them bear fruit, teaching him the method of burying them and advising him also of the way and the time for pulling out the weeds with a weeder, because he would have seemed bad before his enemy and before the Indian himself if he had not completed his philanthropical work, after criticizing so much the true friend of Chiriguano humanity (2).

2. The Aguara-Tunpa, For God, did not tell him that the seeds could be eaten right away, because in that way they would have been lost immediately. After they had germinated, he advised that when they were ripe, he could have food for himself and for his family.

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Every Chiriguano has a small plot of cultivated land, sufficient for himself and for his family. Nobody had previously entered the area in which the Indians live, so that nobody disputed their property rights, as they should not be disputed today, because they are the owners ab immemorabili, and no individual could have sold what belonged to the community.

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that the cacique had said with reference to their idea of the missionary, whom they consider to be very powerful with regard to the elements of nature; this Indian's ideas concerning the creation of man are very base and immoral; other, more enlightened ones do not tell it this way.

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/267/ Whether the visit is long or short, at the time of leaving the guest thanks the master of the house, saying, Ayirobia catu ndereé. I thank you very much, and goes off, saying, Aha ye ma. I am going, and the master of the house answers, Tunpa reño eguata, travel or go with God, but first he makes him promise to come back to visit him whenever it is convenient.

Carnival

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If I ask the Indians of Ivu who introduced the carnival among them, some answer that it was the subprefect of Lagunillas who came and built a small fort here and another in Cuevo; others say that it was a white man whom I know and shall not name, and I conclude that it was both of them. The former told them that the carnival was a fiesta of merrymaking, and the latter taught them to do it the way they do it today, as I shall go on to describe. If I ask other Indians, they answer that they learned it from the whites, from which it can be deduced that this general madness is not their own; they do it because they like everything which smacks of killing time, drinking, and dancing.

[184] The very word "carnival" indicates that it is not a Chiriguano fiesta; therefore it should not be confused with the Mbaya póure, which is somewhat similar because of its immorality; this latter is older and is not found in every tribe. In addition to having a set time, after the first cold until about the middle of July (1).

• [248]

1. The whites of Cordillera, with their chief, set up the said fortifications after the rebels who had attacked Iglesimbe had been defeated; they had not come to help the subprefect of Azero.

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54 177 [648]

Don Antonio Mendiolla, who had requested aid: he fought on bravely alone, helped by his soldiers from Azero.

Thus, even though it is not of Chiriguano origin, the carnival is greatly celebrated here, so much so that it bears the name of Aratu, fiesta, through autonomasia, and all the old fiestas are gradually disappearing, yielding to this one. For the days that this residue of paganism lasts, the Chiriguano works almost all year in spite of the laziness that accompanies him: for it is he gladly helps the whites, receiving in exchange money to buy clothing for himself and his wife and children: and on these days all are on great parade, showing off luxurious garments of every form and color, garments which, to be sure, they do not dare put on /268/ during the other days of the year, neither for the Ayarisu nor for the Mbaqe pèure.

In such circumstances there is hardly any difference between blacks and whites: the men well dressed, and even the infidel women with garb adorned with gaucho, fancy hats, and multicolored ribbons: the children cover their faces with masks which they have made beforehand by carving toborochi wood: young men prefer to show off on horseback, riding at a gallop, and others, such as the old people, amuse themselves by looking at the dances and Aqiéros /makers/, for whom everything is allowed because it is carnival.

By way of preparation for the big fiesta, or because one drinks and has fun, they make merry on the comadre and comadre days, and on Quinquagesima Saturday, all day, the makers and dancers practice the dances that they call Aiaru. On the next day from eight to nine they begin the carnival, dancing to the music of drums and flutes of hollow cane, and the one who is called lord of the fiesta is someone in disguise with a mask that depicts an old man with a white beard, usually mounted on a burro: the one who is thus disguised directs the fiesta, makes his speeches in each corner of the plaza, recommending harmony and happiness (1).

1. The principal man so disguised has subalterns.

4: Mano--369 M-3 (1600-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

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History tells us that the Chiriguano were not the first inhabitants of the region that they now occupy. Other savages had lived here, who handed over the territory by reason or right of the stronger. Subjugated by the number and valor of the invaders, some of them emigrated to perish, and others remained as vassals in their own land and little by little came to an end, leaving the Chiriguano masters of their land.

In time the Incas tried to conquer this extensive territory, leaving behind innumerable marks of their tenacity, but they had to abandon the noble though, contenting themselves with calling them with great contempt Chiriguanos or Chirihuanos, cold excitement. For however warlike or invincible a people or nation shows itself to be or is, its hour to succumb arrives. What was not achieved by the Incas or by the arms of the Spaniard here has been brought about by the patience of the missionary and the tenacity of the whites of Santa Cruz and Tarija. Today the great Chiriguano is subdued and bows his haughty head. He has been reduced to nothing, and one who does not live in the missions is the vassal of the white man, who has dominated him completely. It is the disposition of Providence, which subdues the proud and decrees that they experience, although much more gently, what they made the invaded once experience. It seems that in the last war of Canindeyu, the Chiriguano learned his inferiority, but it cannot be denied that this race has been one of the most warlike that has existed here (1).

1. The Incas tried to conquer the Chiriguano in order to moderate their customs. The Chiriguano treated the Tapiì with great cruelty: according to what has been told by the natives of Parapiti, they fattened them in order to eat them later.

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defeated, may the evil ones die. While the war lasts, it is the rule that women and their daughters must not sit in a squatting position, but with their legs stretched /281/ out in front, so that their fathers and husbands who are in battle will not feel any tiredness (1).

1. The Italian del Campano, relying on the writings of Father Giannecchini, a missionary of the Colegio de Tarija, writes in his work that, before the fighting began and during it, women and maidens come out to the plaza and in a loud voice sing and dance the Aré aré. This song and dance must have originated among the Toba, who at that time were numerous in the Gran Chaco region, because in the Ivu region and other regions they scarcely know the name of the Aré aré, and not all share in that knowledge, as has been proved, for in no combat which has occurred to the north, south, and west of Ivu has the Aré, aré been danced and sung.

During the Curuyuqui war the Santa Rosa mission was invaded by the rebels, who, in spite of their number and strength, were unable to enter the town which they intended to burn. Then and afterward the missionaries witnessed painful scenes of women who, crying their hearts out, raised their voices and threw ashes to obscure the enemies' vision. Bitter memories of that massacre are still retained, at which some of them laugh today, but they cried then. Whenever I hear the sad stories, my eyes overflow with tears (2).

2. The Curuyuqui rebels first attacked the town of Cuevo, whose inhabitants had taken refuge in Santa Rosa the night before. In a few days they attacked the mission, from which it can be concluded that their hate was against the whites, and concomitantly against the Indians who were

4t Nino--380 M-3 (1690-1911) 1912 SP10 Chiriguano SP10

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726 helping them in the town and against the
• 648 missionary who had brought them.

Peace

727 Every time a war between Chiriguanos ends, those who got
728 the worst of it are the first to resume friendly relations. They do it little by little, and the women are most useful for this, the same ones who, with their tongues, contributed not inconsiderably to promoting hostilities. The conquerors readily accept the overtures of peace and immediately resume visits again, during which, if the conversation touches on the last war, the conquered avoid it, that is, they excuse the deceit suffered through some trick, but from time to time they must silently endure the reproaches of one or another bold woman, who are not lacking in the towns (2).

2. A certain young girl, a student in the Santa Rosa Mission, reproached the captain at Ivo, who was asking for a mission in his town after having tried to kill the missionary. But I have already said that this war was directly against the whites.

701 When a war is regional because several tribes take part in it
723 under the command of a single cacique, as happened in Taveau's
643 war /282/ against Gôlracoti, both regions try to have an equal
[904] number of foot soldiers, cavalry, and quarembas; otherwise it would be very hard for the weaker side to enter the combat. Gôlracoti came to battle aided by the whites and men from Parapiti, but, when he saw that he had fewer people, he fled from Taveáu, who pursued him with all his men (1).

1. The cacique Taveáu in his first defeat recovered and suitably prepared for a general and decisive charge on the slopes of the range of Iventa, located one league from the Santa Rosa Mission.

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643 When a regional campaign has ended, the caciques involved, with the intervention of others who did not take part in the struggle, try to re-establish peace, because although the Chiriguano is rather warlike and proud, he is also just as peaceful and desirous of living quietly in his home. Hence it is quite easy for peace to be accepted by both parties, and it is sealed with a general fiesta, first in the town of the defeated cacique and then in that of the victorious cacique. All the great and important people of both regions and of the regions which have taken part in the friendly arrangements come together at these fiestas, and even then they do not turn to talk of the stormy time, except to anathematize the one who, according to them, was to blame for so much anguish; little importance is given to the words of the women (2).

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2. As the Cuteywiti war was against the whites and since the latter triumphed and pursued them to the death, there could not be any party afterward, but in time friendly relations were renewed between the Indians of Ivo and Santa Rosa, and to the day they continue in perfect harmony, because they live with the help of the missionary whom the Ivo people had asked for previously.

Then each regional cacique enjoins his men not to disturb public peace again, and these in turn make speeches to their gobalierno at night about the advantages of peace, and both caciques shake hands, promising to decide matters in a friendly fashion if any future disagreement which might arise between the two regions, but sometimes the opposite happens, because the victor finds it hard to yield, considers himself superior, and does not know that negotiations are practicable.

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728 Finally, each one returns to his town satisfied, the repair of the destroyed houses is ordered immediately; the time of general planting comes, and they all report to work peacefully in order to have abundance once again and with their hopes based on being able to enjoy in time the fruit of the little sweat that fell, to their own advantage and that of their family.

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Chapter Fourteen

Infidels and Neophytes of the Missions

Introduction

The continual revolts of the Chiriguano against the white race clearly demonstrate their aversion toward the Christian element, which they consider to be the effective cause of their misfortunes and of the almost total loss of their territory, of which not too long ago they considered themselves the legitimate owners and absolute rulers. It is as clear as the midday sun that the Christian, with the patience and constancy of an anchorite and in many circumstances risking his life, has gradually taken over the extensive region. Today there is no corner where an occasional Christian family is not living. In many places the Chiriguano tribe has completely disappeared, whether through epidemics or through loss of freedom; in some places a rather considerable nucleus exists under the control of a master, either because of the territory which it cultivates or because of a debt which has been contracted (1).

1. The caciques of the Curuyuqui war, in their ignorance, thought that they could recover the lost territory and, in revenge, take over most of the Republic.

The Indians located in the area to the left of the Pilcomayo River took only one thing into consideration when they resolutely refused to have a conversion mission founded: they only considered that behind the missionary would come those whom they considered invaders; they only understood that white Christians would gather behind or around the Cross, which Father Giannelli planned with considerable daring in the middle of the nineteenth century. But why is it that the Indians of Tarairí /198/ are still owners of their land? Because of the missionary, whom one faction, in its ignorance, wanted to leave when the destruction of the flourishing missions of San Francisco and San Antonio began, where six years ago building a new London was attempted, with almost

4s Nino--403 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

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797 nothing yet begun, but rather with a most evident deterioration
• 648 of the building and the gardens which the Franciscans of Tarija left behind so well arranged and so flourishing (1).

1. When the Tarairí Mission was established through the persuasive words of the missionary, it was attacked by neighboring tribes and by the warlike Huacayeños, who were located some 100 kilometers away. The Chiriguano missions were founded where there was no nucleus of whites.

The people of Tarairí were the first to see a Franciscan father in their territory, and they are the last to understand the material advantages that the mission brings to them. The people of Tigüipa, Macharetí, Boicovo, Cuevo, and Ivu, and, finally, those of the two Parapiti missions, called San Antonio and San Francisco, came to realize that only the missionary could present their territorial rights before the Supreme Government and assist them in countering the ill will of some whites who, because they were too tyrannical, brought about the Curuyuqui uprising, in which the Indian was completely humiliated when he believed he would exterminate all the whites (2).

2. Through the suggestion of the missionary, the Indians of Itatiqui were assisted in their small territory by the Prefecture of Santa Cruz, before which proceedings for purchase were in process. Today they have been helped by the Supreme Government, which has proclaimed an edict for measuring and setting boundaries, but they have scarcely half a league left to them, despite having possessed from time immemorial three and a half leagues.

926 It has been seen in the course of these pages that the Indian
181 is formidable at the beginning of battle, but if victory does not come soon, he turns cowardly and flees.

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soon, he turns cowardly and flees. The eight-hour battle at Curuyuqui, considering that the weapons were so unequal, can be regarded as a prodigious feat, because once the Chiriguano were so far from their towns, they had to resign themselves to winning or dying before falling prisoner.

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Infidels

The adult Indian has no appreciation of religion, whatever it may be. To be sure, first his ignorance and then, more than anything, his pride and laziness contributed to this, because he turns his back on anyone who tries to instruct him. Some of them come to the monthly instruction, but almost all are like those described by the royal Psalmist in that they have eyes but do not see, ears but do not hear, /299/ and a tongue but do not speak, do not sing praises, and do not worship their Creator (1).

1. It seems that the demon of luxury has them blind, deaf, and mute with regard to religion and worship and keeps them away from the Spirit of God.

It is not likely that the Chiriguano will ask for the founding of a mission, because he does not want anyone to disturb his peace and tranquility in his own land. He considers the mission an unbearable yoke for himself and for his children. It is almost useless, it is almost a waste of time, to speak to the Indian about the supernatural, to make him yield and accept the mission. He does not understand or wish to understand why animalis homo non percipit ea quae Dei sunt. Only when he sees himself persecuted with regard to his person, his family, and his property, only in order not to fall completely into slavery, only to free himself from the harassments which he receives from his fellow man, does he then ask for a mission with much insistence, until he obtains the end desired. This is also one of the ways that God uses to secure the redemption and salvation of an endless number of souls (2).

2. There are a number of Chiriguano families

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/309 cont./ in addition to the ordinary clothing, use a waist /corpiño/, hat, socks, and small rug /alfombrita/ in church (2). /Page 310 and

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2. The place where they dress most elegantly is in the missions of the Parapiti Grande, especially the women, who even have saddles for traveling and for riding about on horseback.

the first paragraph on p. 311 are omitted in the translation. The remainder of p. 311 follows./

Conclusion

797 In conclusion, let it be noted for a final time that the Bolivian nation and people have opened to commerce and industry the broad region described in the first chapter of this work. This is due to the Franciscan missionaries, whose labor dates from the year 1609; they faced all the dangers; they risked their lives in the forests, in the torrential rivers, on the summits of the hills, they suffered thirst, hunger, fatigue, cold and heat, they endured with resignation the calumny and persecution of the people without conscience who never failed to make them the target of their filthy mouths and tongues.

[648] The work has been accomplished; previously nobody went among the Chiriguano without the risk of falling victim; today the entire region is one with more or less large towns, there are provincial capitals, cantons and vice-cantons; the merchant passes through the Chiriguano towns, sleeps, very highly esteemed, in their houses, and the whites themselves, scattered throughout the region, have every guarantee of safety. This is a real prodigy owing to the Religion of Jesus Christ, preached by the missionaries; it is one more proof of the fact that the Cross is constructive.

[177] /312/ It is evident that the native element is disappearing because of the causes previously enumerated during the course of these lines (1).

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1. If the present missions remain and new ones are founded in the centers that are left today,

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The tribes described here are friends and allies of the Chiriguano, and, when the latter have an abundant crop of maize, the former draw near to the towns of their friends; according to tribes, they build their ovens, where they hide, along the bank of some rivulet or some stream.

They remain there, help the Chiriguano in the harvest, perform menial services for him by carrying wood, cleaning house, and doing other domestic chores, and in exchange they get a little maize for themselves and their family. When they go back into the forest, they take several libras or arrobas of maize, depending on the harvests that the Chiriguano may have had.

In the Tarija missions this happens quite frequently, because they are nearer to their territory. The caciques of the savages then present themselves to the Chiriguano cacique to announce their arrival and the presence of their tribe and the latter in turn brings him before the P. /padre/ Conversor to obtain the necessary permission.

In these circumstances none of the tribes is lazy, because they understand that in order to eat it is necessary to work, under penalty of being immediately thrown out of the foreign territory where he has found so much abundance. Neither are they permitted many months stay, because they are capable of staying until they use up all the maize and leave the Chiriguano's cupboard bare.

Several times I saw these tribes in a state of temporary emigration, and it was pitiful to see such poverty, forlorness, filthiness, ignorance, and want. Long rows of ovens could be seen in communication with one another, full of men, women, children, and dogs, and living there worse off than dirty animals in filth.

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Chané SF8

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Indians in the years 1908, 1909 and 1913, and spent in all 4 to 5 months studying them. In my book »Indianlif» I gave a popular account of them as I got to know them during the Hermmarck expedition in 1908 and 1909. In my last book of travel »Forskningar och äventyr i Sydamerika» there is some information about the Chiriguano. I have brought home to Sweden from the Chiriguano and Chané about 1500 articles which are now in the Rikesmuseum at Stockholm and in the Gothenburg Museum. In the Geographical Review I wrote a short article on the migrations of the Chiriguano Indians.

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A close study of the Chiriguano and Chané civilization by the »thno-geographical method affords points of especial interest, since their mode of life is rather well known, and we are able to trace their history back to the beginning of the 16th century. I have also collected archaeological material from their region. At first I was minded to give an account of this, too, in the present work. I decided, however, that it would be better here only to mention individual finds by the way, and to leave the archaeological material for another publication in which I shall be able also to publish certain archaeological finds made in other parts of Bolivia. This for purely practical reasons.

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I will here endeavour to make clear how the Guarani-speaking Chiriguano's and the Guaranized Chanés' civilization are composed, what culture-elements they have got from the Whites and from the Mountain civilization in the west, what each brought to the common stock and what they possibly obtained from other quarters.

In this analysis of Chiriguano and Chané manners and customs, I do not intend properly to examine the question as to whence these Indians came to their present abodes. Broadly speaking we know that already. Respecting the Chiriguano migrations there are historical documents extant which evidently show that it was not until the beginning of the 16th century that these Indians conquered

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Schmidt-Bibl 8-4,4 (1886-1888. 1912) 1888
SP10 Chiriguano SP10
Chaco SP4

the tracts they now occupy.[1]) [2] They drove out or subjugated the original population, which consisted chiefly of Chané Indians. They made slaves of a great number of them and ravished a great number of women.

The Chané are, as was mentioned, Arawaks and all indications point to their having come from the north or north-east, where they have large numbers of kindred. It will be found that the present investigation confirms this. A matter of particular interest in this connection is to notice how two peoples belonging to the most important groups of tribes in all America made adaptations in their mode of life when they had emigrated to places with strange natural conditions. Again, it is worthy of note how their civilization was transformed and the influence of the Bronze-age civilization in the west and afterwards under the influence of the Whites. Further we shall see what they have, under their new conditions, been able to preserve of their original civilization. We shall gain insight into the way in which the civilization of two Indian tribes was transformed under the influence of other peoples and new natural conditions.

As in Part I, I deal chiefly with the material side of these Indians' life. Or rather, everything in their life which

[1]) Nordenskiöld 175.

[2]) Ehrenreich, basing his opinion on Garcilaso and Montesinos, has assumed that the Chiriguano invaded the Inca Realm earlier than the beginning of the 16th century. But even if his assumption is correct, these inroads led to no destruction there. This is evident from the accounts of the invasion in the 16th century, when the Chiriguano supplanted, what was everywhere an original stock. Nor do we know whether by Chiriguano the Incas did not mean barbaric tribes of the Chaco in general, and not any particular tribe. In these parts Chiriguano probably corresponded to the signification that Chuncho had in the district of Cuzco, where it meant all sorts of barbaric Indian tribes east of the Andes. The Chiriguano that Garcilasso de la Vega and Montesinos speak of must by no means have been Guaraní Indians. I have already pointed out (Nordenskiöld 13) that Garcilasso's description of the Chiriguano is absolutely irresponsible.

StNordenskiöld E-8,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

found at Tilcara and that of the Chiriguano. I here reproduce from the work of DEBENEDETTI some types of earthenware to which we find answering types among the Chiriguano. (See fig. 48). It must be borne in mind that the Chiriguano country at Cuyambuyo approaches the Humahuaca valley.[1]) The Humahuaca and Chiriguano were allied in the first encounters with the Spaniards.[2])

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In Part I I have already pointed out the similarity between Choroti and Ashluslay water-pitchers and the Incan »aryballes».

The question arises whether or not all water-pitchers with a narrow neck which can be grasped by the hand are derived from the Mountain civilization. They are not found, as far as I have been able to find, in all N. E. Bolivia, nor in the whole of eastern S. America except by Indians that have been very much influenced by the Whites. The Chiriguano word for water-pitcher is »iru», which is strongly reminiscent of the Quichua name »yuru» for the same kind of earthen vessel.

Pitchers with a bulging neck (fig. 42,1) are common among the Chiriguano and the Chané at Rio Itiyuro. I am acquainted with them from my archaeological excavations at Caipipendi. They are mentioned by AMBROSETTI[3]) from Tucuman. The type occurs, moreover, within the western area of civilization whence it surely must have come.[4])

Handles shaped like animals or human faces do not occur on the pottery of the Chiriguano and Chané.

The Chiriguano and Chané do not make feet to their vessels as is common on the earthenware from the Mounds in Mojos.

[1]) CORNEJO P. 66.

[2]) LOZANO S. 120 »Eran los Homaguacas gente por extremo feroz ..... y mataron à los Sacerdotes, que los doctrinaban, y à muchos Españoles que cayeron en sus manos, infestando con robos, y muertes los caminos publicos, y conferandose con los Chiriguanás» ....

[3]) (8).

[4]) REISS und STÜBEL T. 3, Pl. 96, Fig. 17; G. M.

Nordenskiöld E-8,1(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

XXVI

Symbols of authority and dignity.

C 622 3c1 263 According to CORRADO[1]) the Chiriguano chief was distinguished by a tuft of hair on his head the »yattira» and earrings of green stones. At feasts the chief carried a pole with a bunch of ostrich feathers at the end of it, the »yandugua», and a carved stick the »siguirape». I have Ce only seen the »yandugua». Among the Chané I have seen 622 plain sticks that formed some kind of symbol of authority for the chiefs.

C Ce 554 171 I have neither seen nor heard of any symbols of authority among any other Indians than the Chané, Chiriguano, Quichua and Aymara, and also, at the missions, among the Guarayos, Mosetene and Cavina. Among the Aymara and Quichua the staff, usually silver mounted, is a symbol of authority carried by Indian officials in the villages. It is the same at the missions among the tribes mentioned and also among the Chiriguano. C [648] LOZANO[2]) states that the Spaniards at the end of the seventeenth century solemnly presented a staff to a Chiriguano chief, Cambichuri, as a symbol of authority. CREVAUX[3]) relates from his visit to the Oyampi that the chief carried a staff in his hand, for all over Guiana the staff is »le signe de commandement». KOCH-GRÜNBERG[4]) speaks of the staff as a symbol of authority for chiefs in northwest Brazil. GILIJ[5]) says that the

[1]) P. 63.
[2]) P. 258.
[3]) P. 164.
[4]) (2) 1 P. also, Fig. 142: P. 297, Fig. 175.
[5]) T. 3 P. 195.

/156 cont./ Ce 115
from the often vulgar, empty whites. Batirayu, however, is also an exceptional man, the makings of a great man, who is condemned to idleness.

Batirayu is a Chané. These Indians now speak the same language as the Chiriguano, namely, Guarani. Most of their customs and usages correspond to those of the Chiriguano, by whom they were probably subjugated. According to their origin, however, they are Arowaken /Arawak/ and hence the most southerly dwellers of this group, which had, and still has, a wide distribution in South America and on the Antilles. Ce 197 171 648 ● Ce 101

/157/ If I describe the Chané and the Chiriguano together here, it is because their material culture is so similar. Nevertheless, I have indicated in which tribe I made this or that observation; this is especially true for the religious domain, in which the Chané, at least on the Rio Parapiti, have kept many old conceptions which are unknown to the Chiriguano. Ce 128 171 771

Batirayu told me that a few of the Chané still knew some words of the old language of the tribe. He said that especially at the drinking bouts, when they are intoxicated, they give themselves airs by speaking the old Chané language, which otherwise has the character of a secret language. Ce 197 554 273 Ce

In the company of Batirayu I set out for the village of "Huirapembe" where the Indians who knew Chané best were supposed to be found. It was not easy to draw their secrets out of them. Actually, only the youngest ones, who knew the least, were willing to tell me something (1). One old woman who was Ce 124 197 114 M Ce 6

1. 192 197

	Chané	Chiriguano	Mojo
Water	ũne	y	une
Maize	sopóro	ahuâti	seponi
Fire	yucu	tâta	yucu
Dog	tamóco	yaũmba	tamucu
Chicha (good)	liqui	cãngui	itico
Rat	cõvo	angũya	cozo.

/159 cont./ things. The ceramics /160/ which I found there belong among the very best that I saw among these Indians (Figs. 77 and 78).

From Maringay I returned to Ivu by way of the mission station of Santa Rosa. It has a wonderful location. Like an old fortress, it is built on a narrow hill. Below it, in long rows, lie the grayish-brown Chiriguano huts surrounded by low woods of Mimosaceae, cacti, small algarrobas, and other fine-leaved trees. This woodland is seldom so dense than one cannot easily get out of it without a bush knife. When I was in Santa Rosa,

Fig. 78. Clay vessel made by the wife of the Chiriguano chief Maringay. 1/7.

it was the dry season and everything was burned up. Here too, however, rain probably entices the green out of the dry earth. Sometimes the rain is so long in coming, however, that the Indians do not get any maize and that means -- hunger.

From Santa Rosa one looks far out over the mountains and across the great plain of Boyuovis, over the country that was the native land of the Chiriguano, where, at Curuyuqui, they fought their last battle with the Christians, who assume the right to rob all weaker peoples.

After my excursion to Maringay I left the land of the Chiriguano and Chané and paid my second visit, already described in this book, to the Choroti and Ashluslay.

6: Nordenskiöld--10 E-5 (1908-1909) 1012 SF10 Chiriguano Str 10
Chane SE 8
S-Am. 51
S-Am. [Indians] 53
Ca 103
E 561
SA 103
S 177 323
E 675 678
C [113]

#167 cont./

is a village called Tapiyendo. The valley is now inhabited exclusively by Chiriguano, and none of them remember that, as the name of the place indicates, Tapii (Chané) lived there.

The place names of the Indians of higher standing are retained by the whites, even if they have become the masters of the country. Thus, almost all the places inhabited by them in Chiriguano territory have Guaraní names, such as Charagua (name of the cliffs peculiarly carved out by the water), Carandaiti (where palms grow). The place names of the lower tribes, on the other hand, are not kept by the whites. Thus, no white knows the Matacco or Chorotí names of the various places on the Río Pilcomayo. The settlements of the whites are named after saints, Bolivian statesmen, and explorers. If a tribe, for example, the Chorotí, becomes extinct, there is nothing left of its language in the place names. Investigation of place names should not overlook this.

Through association with the whites, the geographical knowledge of the Indians has been extended considerably. They go farther and farther away to seek work, and they see countries which they had never heard of before.

The Indian as Historian

If we wanted to write the history of the Chorotí and Ashluslay, we could not go back very far in time. It is only in the last decades that we see them mentioned more specifically in the literature. On the other hand, we already know about the Chiriguano, from their battles with the great ruler, Inca Yupanqui, from the period before the discovery of America. Garcilasso de la Vega (1) reports on his attempts

1. Garcilasso de la Vega. The Royal Commentaries of the Yncas. Vol. I-II. Hakluyt Society. London, 1869 and 1871.

6. [illegible]--20 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

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/167 cont./

to conquer the land. His description of the Chiriguano as a cannibalistic race of extremely low standing /168/ surely originated in his own imagination. The tradition about these battles has been preserved in the mountain valleys.

The territory of the Chiriguano, in spite of the centuries-long valiant defense, was conquered, step by step, in the Spanish era. As recently as 1890 part of them made a last attempt at rebellion, but they were defeated, as has been mentioned, in the battle at Curuyuqui, on the plain of Buyuvo. About 5,000 Indians had gathered there and for a whole day fought the whites in an unequal battle against fire-arms. The battle had begun in the morning and it had not yet ended in the evening when it grew dark. The situation was becoming extremely unpleasant for the whites, since their ammunition was almost gone. Unfortunately, however, the morale of the Indians was broken. They abandoned their entrenchments in the quiet of the night.

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Another very important chapter in the history of these Indians is the long and persistent effort of the missionaries to conquer the land of the Indians in a comparatively peaceful manner. This is treated in detail in the literature.

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Here, however, I do not wish to speak of the history of these Indians as we know it through the literature, but of the Indian as historian.

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[173]

If one talks to the Indians, they do not know much about their own history; their tradition does not go back very far. The Chaco on the Rio Parapiti told me they had first lived on the upper Rio Parapiti (1), but were driven away from there by a

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[131]

1. This is confirmed by Viedma: Descripcion geografica y estadistica de la Provincia de Santa Cruz de la Sierra. Coleccion Pedro de Angelis. Buenos Aires, 1836. Vol. III. Pages 180-181.

Ca
[113]

great chief. Some remained where they are now living, others set out through the Chaco to the Rio Paraguay, which river,

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[167]

/168 cont./
as has been said, /169/ is not unfamiliar to the Indians. On the Rio Paraguay Arowaken /Arawak/ are also found.

The Chiriguano first lived on the lower Rio Parapiti and were driven away from there by the Chané. This is [illegible]. 80 and 81 appear here/ possibly "official history," for more probably the Chiriguano drove the Chané out of the fertile valleys of the upper Rio Parapiti.

Batirayu told me everything that he knew about the history of the Chané Indians on the Rio Parapiti. The last great /170/ chief was Batirayu's uncle, Aringui. He led many Indians of his tribe to Argentina to work. His predecessor was Yämbäe. Before him Ochoäpi was invested with the position of chief. In his time the whites began to push into the country. This chief is described as an important man who sought to introduce the manners and customs of the whites among his Indians. Ochoäpi is known for his extensive journeys and his persecution of sorcerers. He was said to have been in Buenos Aires. Before him Chótchori had the position of chief. In his time the whites had not yet come as far as the lower Rio Parapiti. Here the tradition comes to an end. The chiefs mentioned here were of the same family /Geschlecht/, but the rule does not pass from father to son.

I could relate a bit of history about the Chané on the Rio Itiyuro, but I do not wish to be boring with too many names. There, too, tradition does not go back far, three generations, that is all.

In the legends of these Indians, several of which I have given below, we learn nothing about the history of these peoples. No historical events seem to have been recast into legend there. They have entirely different themes.

It is really quite strange that among these Indian tribes their history, the names of the chiefs, have been forgotten, whereas the legends have undoubtedly been preserved, though in altered form, from generation to generation for centuries. It is chiefly the wide geographical distribution of the legends that speaks for their great age.

6: Nordenskiöld--24 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF6
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/171 cont./
on the Río Parapití make raids on the Tsirakua Indians. The Ashluslay also maintain, as my interpreter told me, that /172/ the Toba chief Teycolique, during his invasion of their territory in 1909, had several Chiriguano with him.

Batirayu said that in former times the Chané brought home the heads of their slain enemies and set them up on the plazas of the villages during festivals.

Fig. 82. Clay vessel of the Chané. 1/4.
Río Parapití.

/173/ Chapter Eleven

From the Land of the Chané and Chiriguano Indians

Everyday Life in the Chané and Chiriguano Huts

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As a rule, I felt very comfortable in the huts of the Chané and Chiriguano. The life in these villages is exactly the same. If one describes one village, he has described almost all of them.

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Like all the other Indians whom I visited south of Santa Cruz de la Sierra in Bolivia, these Indians live in villages. Some of these villages are quite large and inhabited by several hundred persons. Often many villages lie close together. The huts, as a rule, lie around a market place on which sweetsop trees are occasionally planted for shelter in the rainy season. The market places serve as playgrounds and meeting places. The huts, in contrast to the round Choroti and Ashluslay huts, are square, and their doors, facing the village, are set in the gable. They are made of cane or wooden slats, with roofs of grass. Not infrequently they are plastered with earth.

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[137]

Ea
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6. Nordenskiöld--04 E-5 (1909-1910) 1911 5910 Chiriguano SP 10
Chane SP 8

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even if it has lain fallow for years. Thus, fallow land is also inherited.

Otherwise inheritance is considerably curtailed by the fact that the deceased takes part of his treasures along with him into the grave.

As among the Athluley and Chorote, the right of ownership is well developed here too, and the women own what they use and make. As among the aforementioned tribes, generosity is very great here too, even though, thanks to our "civilization" and to the mission, it is less conspicuous.

Chiriguano social life -- we are not familiar with the original Chané social life -- was much more tightly organized than the social life of the Chorote and Athluley. The Chiriguano were a conquering people who probably subjugated the Chané and fought bravely and successfully against the Inca, and also resisted the invasion of the whites for a long time. If, instead of the /233/ many chiefs, there had been but a single one, the conquest of the land of the Chiriguano would quite certainly have cost the lives of twice as many whites as now. Unfortunately, in the battles of the whites against the Indians, there were almost always a few chiefs fighting on the side of the enemy against their own tribes. In the last uprising, decided by the battle at Curuyuqui, the whites had an auxiliary force of a couple of thousand Indians, with whom they fought against the fellow-tribesmen of the latter.

Ca
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Just as everything changes in the life of the Indians when the whites conquer their land, so also are social relations altered. By the time Vocapoy, Maringay, Manderpora, and a few others are lying in clay vessels under the hum, the end will have come; then the Indians will have no laws other than those of the whites, no authorities other than the latter's administrators. The Chané on the Rio Parapiti, as was said, no longer have a high chief. Batirayu was offered this position, but he does not wish to be the servant of the whites; he is too proud for that. "It is not as it was in olden times," said Batirayu to the eccentric white man who sought understanding and the confidence of the Indians.

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G. Nordenskiöld--148 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 NPM Chiriguano SFM
Chaco SFM

Ea 177 797 Ca 797 C 797 Ea 797 177 C 648 466 167

/198 cont./

The Indian, who loves an independent life, but is forced into the dance of civilization, does not want to become a mission child, but chooses this as the lesser evil. In the mission he is under guardians, but not under oppression.

When my friend, the Chané Indian Beriayu, of whom I have spoken several times here, asked me whether it would not be best to ask the missionaries to come to the Chané on the Río Parapití, he thought of them as rescuers from the oppression of the white masters.

When I asked the Chiriguano chief Maringay whether he did not want missionaries to come to his village, the old man became quite indignant and said peevishly: "I have not done anything bad."

The greatest importance of the missionaries lies in the fact that they try to protect the Indians from the oppression and the vices of the whites. I have been pleased to see how the missionaries forbid liquor, the accursed liquor, in the mission stations.

Nevertheless, I do not believe in the future of the missions. It seems to me they are condemned to oblivion. To the extent that the Indians are given better treatment by the other whites and receive proper compensation for their work, they will leave the missions and forsake the guardianship of the Franciscan monks.

The missionaries, however, will always have the honor of having tried, at least to some extent, to protect the Indians from the other Christians. They have also earned honor for the studies they have made of the language, manners, and customs of the Indians.

Fear of the Rubber Regions

In a previous chapter I spoke of the migration of the Indians to Argentina. In the /199/ northernmost territory of the Chiriguano Indians another emigration is taking place. It differs from the first, among other things, by the fact that it is not voluntary. It concerns the rubber regions in northeastern

G. Vanderwalker--149 S-G (1868-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

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Bolivia. Every Indian who goes to the Argentine sugar factories knows that, if there is no disease, he will return. No one holds him back by force. From the rubber regions, on the other hand, no one ever returns.

Is it true, they say, that there is a giant there who devours human beings? Is it true that people /300/ are ground

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Fig. 132. Chané children. Rio Parapiti.

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466

up into rubber? Is it true that the meat that comes in tin cans is from human beings? These are questions which the Indians asked me.

The Chiriguano Indians, especially from the Caipipendi valley, were lured in a shameless manner to the rubber regions in northern

6: Nordenskiöld--150 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF
Chane SF8

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Bolivia, where they were sold as laborers. Under the guard of armed men, they were brought down the Rio Mamoré by way of Quatro-Ojos.

I shall have a better opportunity, however, to discuss the relations of the Indians to the rubber industry in the book in which I shall report on the studies which I made in the rubber regions themselves and among the Indians located near them (1).

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[113]

1. Appeared in Swedish under the title Indianer och hvita i nordöstra Bolivia, Stockholm, 1911.

I shall therefore not go into this question in greater detail here.

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E.
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Compulsory Service for the Whites

The Chiriguano and Chané who work as servants in their own country for the immigrant white race are extraordinarily poorly paid. This is especially true in the remote regions where the higher prices for labor in the Argentine sugar factories, as the result of competition, have not been able to react on wages. The Chané on the Rio Parapiti, for example, are seldom paid more than 20 centavos (not quite 35 pfennigs) per day with board. The women earn about half as much. The Indians are paid their wages partly in spirits and sugar, partly in cloth and tools. The cloth is so poor that a shirt made from such material does not last much longer than the time required to earn it. As a result of this system, the Chané and Chiriguano, like their fellow-tribesmen in the rubber regions in northeastern Bolivia, sink into debt slavery.

/301/ It is to be hoped that the large projects initiated by the engineer Herrmann in San Franzisko on the Rio Pilcomayo will improve the Indian wage situation generally. If he will pay better than others, all the Indians will come to him, and the other employers will have to increase their wages.

6 Nordenskiöld--151 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

Ea
/301 cont./

Ea 648 [466] Thus, the Chiriguano and Chané are on the direct road to being drawn into the anything but fortunate struggle between employer and employee.

The Bolivian government should see to it that the fields of the Indians are entered in the land register, so that whites cannot take possession of them. The government should also make it a condition that no Indian may sell his land. In this

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Fig. 133. Clay vessel. - 1/9.
Chiriguano. Caipipendi.

Ea 648 way the government would guarantee the Indians the right of occupation of the land, but not the right of ownership.

Ea 648 466 465 167 925 /302/ The uncertainty and the oppressive wage conditions under which these Indians live naturally lead to emigration to Argentina and, above all, to the circumstance that many Indians abandon the land, not only as seasonal workers, but forever.

Ea 648 273 177 If the Bolivian government wishes to do something for the Indians, it must first of all try to find a remedy for the worst evil, namely, alcoholism. There is a tremendous difference between drinking maize beer and liquor.

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/302 cont./

An Indian who has become intoxicated on native beverages is never as eager for quarrels and brawls as one who has tasted the infernal soup of the whites. Besides the fact that liquor damages the moral life and health of the Indians, it ruins them completely. I have seen with my own eyes how an Indian can give away his best cow for a keg of spirits.

Distilling for private consumption is still permitted in Bolivia. It should be forbidden, and likewise that anyone may sell alcohol any place he wishes.

Ee
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The Bolivian military law that forces the Indian to perform military duty is quite unreasonable. It is very seldom enforced, to be sure, but when it is, and when the authorities come to get a young man for military service, he himself and all the other Indians of the region along with him are beside themselves with fright. One cannot demand that the Indians take part in the defense of the fatherland before they have the same rights as other citizens and know what their fatherland is.

It is unjust to demand that they should help to defend Bolivia, to defend the whites, who, according to their ideas, have stolen their land from them. The Chiriguano and Chané likewise love their country, but their fatherland is only the valleys and forests in which their fathers made clearings and their mothers painted clay vessels for the festivals.

Ee
[464]

During the period of development which Bolivia is now experiencing, /303/ it is important to make use of Indian labor even here in the land of the Chané and Chiriguano Indians.

In spite of their unique culture, I have no great hopes for the future of the Chiriguano and Chané Indians. They will, however, become incorporated as an important element of the mestizo race, which in the future will be the sole rulers of the xerophytic forests of the Parapiti valley and the last spurs of the Andes toward El Gran Chaco.

Gradually they will probably forget their legends about Tatutunpa and Aguaratunpa and the other gods.

The Chiriguano inhabit the part of the Andean region, bordering on the Chaco, that roughly extends from the 18th to the 22nd degree of S. latitude. Within this region there is also found another tribe, viz., the Chané. These two tribes do not occupy each a territory of its own, but Chiriguano as well as Chané villages are found throughout the whole district thus jointly inhabited by them. No enmity exists nowadays between these culturally allied tribes. After the last great Indian rebellion against the whites (in 1890), a small portion of the Chiriguano tribe moved away into the interior of Gran Chaco, where it is believed that they are still remaining.

The western Chiriguano country, in which part the majority of the tribe is living, consists mainly of partly forest-clad mountain ranges, flanking wooded (fig. 187) or grass-grown valleys and small plains. It is a poorly watered country, but it mostly gives good crops, particularly gourd plants and maize. The climate is tropical, but in the higher parts the heat is not especially trying, except during the hottest season.

Although the Chiriguano and the Chané are on much the same level of material culture, they do not, however, belong to the same racial group, the Chiriguano being counted with the Guarani group, whilst the Chané are Arawak. The Chiriguano, according to Matienzo, took possession of their present country in the beginning of the 16th century, when a portion of the original inhabitants emigrated and settled in the Tarija valley.[1] Possibly the subjugated Indians belonged to the Chané tribe. In later times this tribe has adopted the language of the Chiriguano, which is Guarani. Whence the Chiriguano originally came is not known, but it may be taken as probable that, formerly, this tribe inhabited the lower reaches of Rio Parapiti.[2] The name of Chiriguano (quichua), which means »dirt people» was given them by the vainglorious Incas, who despised the Chiriguano people, affecting to look upon them as barbarians. The word »guano» is the name for the well-known bird manure-found on the coast of Peru and Chile. It seems however unfair indeed that the Chiriguano, who, in contradistinction to the Puna and Chaco Indians, are scrupulously cleanly, should suffer from such a misleading and discreditable tribal name.

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[1] de Matienzo (1), p. 150. Nordenskiöld (15).
[2] Nordenskiöld (13), p. 156.

7: Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

come into the world. But, in observance of a custom largely prevalent among the Indians of South America, the husband pretends for several days to be lying in childbed, and then keeps an invalid diet!

Illnesses are treated by medicine men, who by incantations and other resorts of magic try to expel the evil.

After a death, the corpse is placed in a large earthenware jar, which is put into a hole dug in the ground. According to what a Spanish-speaking Chiriguano Indian told me, it was formerly customary to sever, by incision, the spine of a dying person, in order to shorten his death agony. Before life was extinct, the body was thrust into a huge jar, into which also ornaments, weapons, food and drink were put, the mouth of the vessel then being carefully closed up with an earthenware platter. It was important that the lid was put on before the dying person had drawn his last breath. By doing this, it was thought that the soul of the dead would for a time be held in confinement, so that it would not be able to work any harm on the living.[1] The jar was afterwards interred inside the dead person's hut.

With the exception of the Chané — a tribe on the same cultural level as the Chiriguano — the latter seem to me a people considerably superior to the neighbouring tribes, whether inhabiting the mountain regions or the Gran Chaco. Both the mountain- and the Chaco Indians are dirty and of uncleanly habits, whilst the Chiriguano on the contrary are very observant of bodily cleanliness. For example, the Chiriguano women bathe every day, and often several times a day. Among the Choroti, the girls are in the habit of living in loose sexual relations with a plurality of men, before marrying, whilst the Chiriguano girls, as a rule, preserve their chastity intact until they marry. Also as regards material culture, the Chiriguano and the Chané are on a higher plane than their present-day neighbours. When compared with the ceramics of the peoples of the Chaco, the maize-beer vessels, for instance, that are characteristic of the Chiriguano and the Chané, stand out as veritable show pieces.

Of old, the Chiriguano have a reputation for being a very warlike nation. As early as in the time of the Incas, this tribe made a raid into ancient Peruvian territory,[2] and even as late as 1890 the Chiriguano

[1] Cf. Krickeberg (1), p. 134.
[2] Nordenskiöld (16).

7:Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

gave regular battle to the whites. This battle, in which about 5,000 Chiriguano Indians took part, was fought at Curuyqui, on the tableland of Boyuovis. The result of the struggle was long undecided, but the Indians were at length compelled to give way before the superior weapons of the whites.

According to a Chiriguano legend, man's soul, some time after corporeal death, comes to the abode of the great spirit Tumpà, where it enjoys to the full everything in which it delighted during its earthly existence. But no joy is permanent. When the soul has spent its allotted time with Tumpà, it is obliged to return to the world and there enter into the body of a fox. When the fox dies, the soul moves into a rat, and, when this animal dies, into a branch of an old tree in the forest. The tree ages, withers away and dies and, as the branch decays, the soul, too, gradually perishes. When the branch has finally become mould, the flame of the soul is extinguished for ever.

Fig. 232. A large wooden cross raised near the Franciscan mission for Chiriguano, at Aguayrenda. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

[pp. 226-268 not processed]

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/Since Métraux believes that the Chiriguano are actually descendants of the Guarani, data in this source which have been specifically subheaded for the Guarani file, in regard to culture contacts and foreign relations, may equally apply to the Chiriguano. The researcher is therefore advised to consult text category 116, pp. 6-25 for this additional data./

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Ce 101 or Tapyi /Tapii/, it was not possible from what they said to ascertain with which of the tribes known to ethnology they C [101] can be identified. The Chiriguano call themselves "Mbya." If the Izozó were a part of them, they would have called themselves by this name. Ce 101 17 No doubt they are Chané and that part of the latter which once had their homes in the Izozó River region, taking the name of this river for their own. Their culture, as demonstrated by the objects I collected among them, confirms this opinion. There are some differences between the objects collected among the Izozó and the Chiriguano in Machareti, either with regard to the decorations of the baked clay vessels or with regard to the making of the nets. But in principle it is not possible to decide whether these differences might not be only local differences. In general the culture of C 171 172 128 ● 648 the Chiriguano was diffused in this way throughout the tribes successively subjugated by them, which is why it is proper to deal below with the aspects of the culture of the Chiriguano of Machareti together with that of the Izozó.

C Ce 101 17 Influences on the Culture of the Chiriguano and Izozó, Taken from Historical Data

C Ce [197] At the present time the Chiriguano and Chané form a cultural entity which can be designated as the culture of the Chiriguano, because the Guaraní language of the Chiriguano came to be the common language of the whole group. The Izozó also belong to this ethnic entity. Thus it is necessary to consider this entity /4/ as being formed of completely different tribes. It is also necessary to conceive of their culture as the product of the fusion of very heterogeneous cultural elements. Nordenskiöld deals with this question in one of his books (1)

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1. Erland Nordenskiöld: The changes in the material culture of two Indian tribes under the influence of new surroundings. Comparative Ethnological Studies, 2. Göteborg, 1920. Cited in the following: Nord. 2.

/6 cont./

174 175 167 648 C [101] Indians, either before of after García's expedition. But in any case, this foray with which we are dealing is not that great Guaraní expedition against Guacane and his brother Condori, since it is related in the document cited that these Guaraní, after their victorious battles against Guacane and Condori, had settled on top of the Sierra, where they also remained after their defeat by Grigota, henceforth being called by the Peruvians by the name Chiriguano. The Guaraní who made the foray to which Alvar Núñez refers were almost all wiped out by their enemies, who were probably Chaco Indians, and only a few survivors escaped, taking refuge in the desert through which they had previously passed.

Ce [173] [648] In Puerto de los Reyes, Irala received from a Chané cacique who spoke Guaraní the information "that in times past, before García had come from Brazil to the said Guaraní, a great gathering of the said Guaraní was held in the port that they call Itatin in order to go to search for metal" (9). On this occasion

9. Moreno II, p. 91.

the Guaraní passed through the lands of the Chané and destroyed their houses. Also in this statement of the Chané cacique nothing is said about a permanent settlement of the Guaraní in the west. Rather it says that the Guaraní wanted to "search for" metal. Thus we are also dealing here with a Guaraní foray.

Gi 175 648 The Guaraní expeditions and emigrations described above were from the beginning connected with hostile contacts with the various native groups of the lands through which they passed. In all the regions where the Guaraní met other Indians, Gi [567] [729] they devastated their camps /toldería/ /7/ and carried off with them as slaves all the inhabitants who had not been killed in the fighting. They were the enemies of all and Ce [648] [81] were hated by all. The Chané in particular, described as peaceful and unwarlike, suffered their acts of violence. When the Guaraní who had emigrated to the west after their defeat C Gi 648 175 [567] [729] by Grigota had settled permanently on the cordillera, they

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/7 cont./ continued defeating the neighboring Indians and especially those of the llanos, and they took off with them many of these as slaves to serve them as auxiliaries in other forays. When Nuflo de Chaves came to the cordillera, the Chiriguano were coming to make war upon the Indians of Poxo or of Misque, but Nuflo de Chaves upset their arrival and made them break off their hostilities with those Indians and the others of the frontier. (10) In 1560 the violent actions of the Chiriguano

10. Moreno II, p. 77.

against the tribes in their vicinity forced the viceroy of Peru to send Captain Andrés Manso to that region in order to found a town there, thus establishing a defense against the incursions of these Indians (11). The report of the Corregidor of Tomina,

11. Moreno II, p. 261.

Don Juan Arce Alvendin, made in 1618, informs us that the Chiriguano at first lived in peace with Andrés Manso, but later counseled the Chané who had been pacified by Manso to rebel against the Spaniards, and they killed Captain Manso and the rest of the Spaniards of the new town. They took over the land, subjecting the Chané and making them serve as slaves. In the statement of Sebastian Perez Chamoso in 1571 (12), the

12. Moreno II, pp. 106-107.

act of violence of the Chiriguano against the Yanacona and Chicha Indians are mentioned, and it is said that they took Chicha Indians as slaves. In the Decree of the Royal Audiencia in which it was resolved that war was to be waged against the Chiriguano in the year 1583, there is mentioned among many other misdeeds of the Chiriguano the fact that they had also usurped and devastated the lands of the Llanos and the Chané Indians (13). By continually enslaving the Indians of the

13. Moreno II, p. 104.

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/7 cont./ By continually enslaving the Indians of the subjugated tribes, the Chiriguano by the end of the 16th century already had numerous subjects and auxiliaries in their wars. Most of the Tamacocies (later called Chamacoco) and the Chané were among these, and if other documents of 1583 and 1584 relate that the Tamacocies, the Xores, the Mares, and the Yuracares were their allies, it is probable that this was a case of such Indians violently subjugated and used as auxiliaries in war (14). While the Tamacocies (Chamacoco)

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14. Moreno II, pp. 72 and 73.

were subsequently emancipated from their Chiriguano conquerors and emigrated to the east, most of the Chané, who formerly were a very populous nation, remained in subjugation for a long time (15). Because of the poor treatment that the

15. Moreno II, p. 249.

Chiriguano normally accorded them, there was always a contrast between the two nations, and the Chané preferred to be dependent on the Spaniards rather than remain in slavery to the hated Chiriguano (16). According to Corregidor Tomina's report

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16. Moreno II, p. 250.

in 1618, already mentioned in what has been written above, the relationship between the Chiriguano population and the Chané population was such that the number of pure Chiriguano was smaller than the number of their subjects. According to the estimate made in this connection, the population of the Chiriguano of the Cordillera consisted of 1,500 pure Chiriguano, among whom were distributed 10,000 Chané. Among the 400 Chiriguano of the province of Machareti were distributed 5,000 Chané slaves. Yet for several centuries the Chané must have remained in harsh slavery to the Chiriguano until, in the second half of the 19th century, the formidable resistance of the Chiriguano was broken, and, after a severe blow,

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/7 cont./ they definitively lost their independence, being left subject to the whites (17). /8/ From this time also the Chané freed

17. Moreno II, pp. 253 and 254.

themselves from the oppression of their old masters, forming their own separate towns in the midst of their former masters (18).

18. Father Alejandro Corrado in the year 1883. In Moreno II, p. 254.

In addition, the final insurrection of the Chiriguano in the year 1890 was put down by the Bolivians; and for that reason the situation of the Chané was not modified, and so it is that the explorer Erland v. Nordenskiöld found them still under the same conditions (19).

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19. Erland Nordenskiöld: Indianerleben. El Gran Chaco (Südamerika /Indian Life. The Gran Chaco (South America)/. Leipzig, 1912, pp. 148 ff. Cited in what follows: Nord 1.

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Having described above the history of Chiriguano relations with the ancient Peruvians and the other Indian tribes, we have yet to deal also with their relations with the whites, that is, with the Spaniards or Bolivians, who little by little occupied their territory. We must stress in the first place the fact that the first whites who came to their territory and to the adjacent llanos were not any novelty to them, since even before their emigration the Chiriguano had met these people in their native land between the upper Paraná River and the Paraguay. Because of the initial attitude of the Guaraní on meeting the conquistadors, it is evident that both parties had the same aim, that of getting rich from the wealth of the rich lands of the west, of which they had heard. In order to attain

8: Schmidt--17 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
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this common end, the Guaraní had first favored the conquistadors, giving them important information about the rich land and the ways to get there, and placing themselves at their disposal as auxiliaries in war. According to Guzman, the Portuguese Alejo García took with him 2,000 of these Guaraní from the Paraguay on his expedition to Peru, and if Guzman says that that expedition of García's was the cause of the subsequent expedition of the Guaraní to the west and of the emigration of a great number of them to the western regions of the Paraguayan Chaco, we ought not to reject this opinion, limiting it only in that sense that García's expedition might have been one of the causes of that emigration. When Nuflo de Chaves on his expedition later met the Guaraní of the cacique Vanbaguazu, they received him in a friendly way, oriented him with reference to the rich land and the routes there, and gave him companions for his trip (20).

20. Moreno II, p. 55.

The first of the conquistadors whom the Guaraní met after their emigration to the Cordillera, henceforth called the Chiriguano of the Cordillera, was Captain Domingo de Irala. According to Father Alcaya's report, when Irala arrived in these regions, he sent a Guaraní of his council to make overtures to the Chiriguano Indians, and in what follows the report says literally: "... and many of them came to offer him peace." But in spite of this peace, the Chiriguano did not wish to show him the gold mines and also kept Captain Condori, whom they had captured in their expedition against the Peruvians and whom they now turned over to Captain Irala, as an expert, from finding out anything about the mines (21).

21. Moreno II, p. 92.

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In 1560 the two conquistadors, Nuflo de Chaves and Andrés Manso, arrived in the Chiriguano region in the Vitupue Province (22). In Gabriel Paniagua de Loayza's letter

22. Moreno II, p. 264.

to the Royal Audiencia in 1584, we learn that the Chiriguano of the Sierra, when Nuflo de Chaves arrived for the first time in their land, were about to make war on the Indians of Poxo or of Misque. As has already been mentioned above, Nuflo de Chaves upset their plans and made them cease hostilities (23).

23. Moreno II, p. 77.

Through the division of territories that took place later between Nuflo de Chaves and Andrés Manso, the former received the /9/ northern territories and the latter the southern ones. While Nuflo de Chaves had to deal principally with the Guaraní Itatines, later called Itatines-Guarayú, who had emigrated into those regions located more to the north and who in a little while killed the valiant conquistador, it was from the beginning Andrés Manso's mission to arrange relationships with the Chiriguano of the Sierra and to put an end to their violent acts. At first Manso managed to enter into peaceful relations with most of the Chiriguano and to put them in service as vassals; but it seems that they were involved from the very beginning in the differences that existed between Nuflo de Chaves and Andrés Manso. A document of 1501, the "Testimonio del Escribano Francisco Gallego /Testimony of the Clerk Francisco Gallego/" (24), gives interesting comments

24. Moreno II, pp. 273 and 274.

upon this matter. He says that in 1560 a Chiriguano Indian came as a delegate of the cacique Bitupue and other caciques to Nuflo de Chaves to complain about Andrés Manso's conduct and at the same time to ask him what they should do. While

8: Schmidt--19 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
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/9 cont./ While Nuflo de Chaves, as has been mentioned, had prohibited the Chiriguano from continuing their acts of violence upon the other Indians, a short time later Manso made them join up to go to war against the Indians of the llanos. The Chiriguano, having learned of Captain Manso's intentions, all returned to their old ways. Manso again called them to go to war against the llanos Indians, and he took with him several Chiriguano caciques. When it seemed to him that they were taking him along a wrong path, he killed a Chiriguano Indian and ordered another one's hand cut off. He also killed a messenger of the cacique Botipue. We learn from this letter that the hostility which shortly thereafter broke out in the peaceful relations between the Chiriguano and Andrés Manso, and which cost considerable effort, expense, and sacrifice to the Spaniards and later to the Bolivians, was motivated, at least in great part, by the violent acts of the first whites who had relations with these Indians. This guilt of the Spaniards in the continual hostilities with the Chiriguano was frankly admitted by the Maestro General of the Province, Don Salvador Pasit, in the year 1778 (25).

25. Moreno II, p. 241.

He sent an order to all the soldiers that they suspend their activities against the Chiriguano, stating that the attitude of the Chiriguano was provoked by the introduction of the Spaniards into their lands, in which they had established estancias and herds. The beginning of the hostilities between the Spaniards and the Chiriguano was due to the latter, who suddenly attacked the town of Condorillo, or Santo Domingo de la Nueva Rioja, founded by Andrés Manso, and killed the latter, together with all the other Spaniards, and burned the town (26).

26. Moreno II, p. 281.

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The same fate befell the town of Barranca founded by Nuflo de Chaves and Captain Miguel Martin, and their men in the town of Lagunilla. Moreover, nine of Nuflo de Chaves' men, as well as Captain Pedro de Castro, who had been charged with rebuilding the destroyed town of Santo Domingo de Nueva Rioja, were killed (27). The attacks and robberies of the Chiriguano

27. Moreno II, p. 114.

against the Spanish settlers were so frequent and continual at the end of the 16th century that they were in constant danger, and communications between the several larger towns were quite difficult (28). The various Chiriguano factions had

28. Moreno II, pp. 102-104, 106, and 107.

divided among themselves the land where they were to make the attacks (29). The expedition of the Viceroy Don Francisco

29. Moreno II, p. 120.

de Toledo, with many people and much equipment and at great expense, had no success whatsoever (30). The Chiriguano

30. Moreno II, p. 114.

continued robbing and attacking. From time to time occasional expeditions were sent to punish them, which, in passing, burned a few rancherias and maize fields /10/ and killed some of them (31), but they never had a decisive success, and this

31. Moreno II, pp. 116-118.

situation still continued for two centuries in an almost unchanging form (32). But despite these hostilities, there were

32. Moreno II, p. 273.

8: Schmidt--21 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Guarani SM4

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some relations between the Chiriguano and the Spaniards from the earliest times. According to the Relación de la Annua de la Compañía de Jesús /Annual Report of the Company of Jesus/ for the year 1596, there had been obtained from Potosí and the Charcas many ways and means for bringing them toward peace, considering the very little hope of pacifying them by arms (33) and, according to the same report,

33. Moreno II, p. 102 /the first figure of this page number is missing in the original text and has been supplied here on the basis of a previous citation./

already at that time some Spaniards were going in and out of there to deal with them, and also the Chiriguano were coming both to Potosí and to the Charcas for the same purpose. In addition, Techo, who wrote his Historia de la Provincia del Paraguay in the second half of the 17th century, relates that the Chiriguano sold their prisoners of war to the Spaniards. "They lost no opportunity to devote themselves to this business; they competed with the Spaniards themselves" (34).

34. Moreno II, p. 237.

According to a communication from Escribano Mosquera in 1573 (35), there were already some Spaniards living among the

35. Certification of Escribano Mosquera. According to Moreno II, p. 115.

Chiriguano at that time. This gentleman had heard of two Spaniards and a mestizo among them, who were probably prisoners of war.

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At the end of the 18th century relations between the Chiriguano and the Spaniards modified to the point that from this time on the mission managed to propagate the faith somewhat more among the Chiriguano. In 1779 the Intendente of Cochabama, Don Tomás Leso, after a bitter struggle, defeated the Saypuru faction, which was the one most feared. Later the reduction of Florida was formed on the western shore of the Guapay, with some hundreds of families who had not assisted the Saypurú faction and so, fearing their vengeance, followed the Spaniards (36). Several years later a few other

36. Moreno II, p. 244.

missions were founded by the Franciscans, together with the fort at Saypurú, as a defense for the missions. But by 1799 the Chiriguano had attacked six of these missions, devastating them completely (37). A strong campaign against the

37. Moreno II, p. 245.

Chiriguano, directed by Intendente Viedma in person, had not had any success at all, the army of 2,000 men having turned back when their officers were killed by the enemy. In spite of this the missionaries repaired the destroyed reductions (38).

38. Moreno II, p. 246.

According to the notes of Father Antonio Comajuncosa (39),

39. Moreno II, pp. 246 and 247. A historical manifesto of what the missionaries of Tarija have wrought.

there already existed in the year 1810, 18 missions among the Chiriguano in the southern zone of the Pilcomayo River. Through the influence of the missions and through both violent

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/10 cont./ Through the influence of the missions and through both violent and peaceful means of the Spaniards and, later, by the Bolivians, conterminous with the Chiriguano, little by little most of the Chiriguano came over to their side, so that the power of the Chiriguano tribe, in another time so strong and invincible, was weakened (40). Thus it happened that in

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40. José Cardúz: Las Misiones Franciscanas entre los infieles de Bolivia /The Franciscan Missions among the Infidels of Bolivia/. Barcelona, 1886. From Moreno II, pp. 248 and 249.

1875 the inhabitants of the neighboring provinces were able to give a final blow to the last segments of independent Chiriguano, subjugating them completely and obliging the defeated factions who refused to submit to disperse into other lands, some of them taking refuge in the Chaco among the Toba and Tapieté (40) /see footnote 40 above/. Nevertheless, this was not the final fight between the Chiriguano and the whites, as Cardúz supposed in 1885. A part of the Chiriguano in 1890 attempted one last rebellion against the Bolivians. About 5,000 Indians gathered on the Boynove plain near Curuyuqui, fought for a whole day against the Bolivians, who were assisted by some thousand Indians of the same tribe. At nightfall the heated battle had not yet been decided, but in the /11/ night the Indians lost their spirit in the face of the superiority of modern arms and left their trenches (41). Also,

41. Nord. 1, p. 168.

after this defeat one of the caciques, named Cayahari, preferred to take flight rather than surrender to the Bolivians. They say that he settled in the area of a large lake far from the whites (42).

42. Nord. 1, p. 161.

8: Schmidt--26 E-S (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

/12 cont./

000 I.C. 246. Izozó cacique with his family. Near Toledo. (Fig. 12.)
I.C. 249. Izozó man with tembetá /labret/. Near Toledo. (Fig. 27.)
I.C. 251. Izozó in Toledo with soldiers and the author. (Fig. 2.)
I.C. 330. Izozó men. Near Toledo. (Fig. 9.)

C 144 G48 Ce 648 From the preceding historical sketch it can be seen that the ethnic entity "Chiriguano-Chané," with regard to its physical characteristics, is made up of an ethnic mixture of absolutely heterogeneous elements. We have told how the Chiriguano for centuries captured many prisoners, incorporating them into their community, and how at the end of the 16th century the number of Chané incorporated among them was much larger than that of the pure Guaraní-Chiriguano. Although the Chané, belonging to the linguistic group of the Aruacos /Arawak/, were a peaceful nation and were not equal in strength to the pure Chiriguano, their culture, which for a long time was in contact with that of the ancient Peruvians, was doubtless superior to that of their oppressors, and the Chané women surely had considerable influence on their masters. Since the two population elements lived together for three and a half centuries, we must suppose that they would have mixed extensively.

C 142 175 Unfortunately, the ancient documents say very little about the physical qualities of the Chiriguano. The only brief note on this subject that I know of is found in the "Descripción y población de las Indias" by Bishop Lizarraga (44): "They are

44. Moreno II, p. 101.

C [302] Ce 144 175 comely, robust, with broad-shouldered, high chests, well built, dark. They pluck their eyebrows and eyelashes; the eyes are small and lively." According to Father Alejandro Corrado in the year 1883, that is, a short time after the Chiriguano lost their independence because of the whites and the Chané began to become emancipated from their oppressors, forming their own towns, somatic differences between the

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Chané SF8

/38 cont./

Because the ancient Peruvians raised various breeds of dogs, we can assume that the Chiriguano received the dog as a domestic animal from the ancient Peruvians. We can assume the same with regard to the duck, which was also raised by the ancient Peruvians. Therefore I do not include the duck among the domestic animals that these Indians received from the whites, as Nordenskiöld does. We do not know whether the Chiriguano in times past might have raised the llama. From the fact that guanacos exist in the territory located between the Parapití and the Río Grande, we can deduce that the raising of that other species of Euchenia might have been possible in that country.

The Chiriguano very early received such European domestic animals as the horse, the ass, the cow, sheep, goats, hogs, and chickens, which they captured in great quantities in their continual raids on the Spanish settlers. In 16th century documents there are repeated complaints about the extensive stealing of livestock by these Indians. Today the Chiriguano and Chané do not have many horses, and they have never had the /39/ pronounced character of a nation of horsemen. The true weapons of war were formerly a long bow and arrows which were also long, which cannot be used by a mounted horseman, in addition to which their homes were formerly in the hills in regions which the Spaniards could not enter on horseback. In certain parts of their territory the raising of cattle has some importance (181). More general is the raising of sheep, pigs,

181. See Métraux I, p. 340.

and chickens. Today one sometimes also finds among them guinea hens and turkeys (182).

182. Nord. 1, p. 137.

/44 cont./

Acquisition of Raw Material of Inorganic Origin

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Because it was the rich treasures of the Incas and of the bordering lands, especially their wealth in gold and silver, which stimulated the Chiriguano to immigrate into the regions bordering this empire, the question is posed as to whether the Chiriguano took part in the exploitation of the land for that purpose. We know of their battles with Guacane and his brother Condori because of the rich mines of Maypurún, and we know that the Chiriguano possessed these mines for some time and that on this occasion they took great quantities of gold and silver. But in those battles they captured Condori in person, and he was the owner of the mines, and they kept him no doubt to work the mines for them. Furthermore, their power over the region of the mines lasted a short time, because they were thrown back by the cacique Grigota /45/ as far as the eastern spurs of the Andes. We have no information that in their new land they had any opportunity to extract gold and silver from the earth, or that they themselves ever worked these metals in any major way. Today they have their silver ornaments made by the mestizos or the whites of their region, except for the single fact that the Chiriguano sometimes made their tembetás of tin.

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Through the description of their tembetás and necklaces, we know that the Chiriguano have some semiprecious stones. As Nordenskiöld relates (213), they, according to their own

213. Nord. 1, p. 209.

statements, find the turquoise and chrysocolla beads on the ground where there had been houses or where ancient tombs are located.

263 317 [434]

While salt today is obtained from the whites, it was formerly extracted from the land, either in the form of rock salt, which they got from mines near San Luis, or in the form of salt water which they obtained by treating with water

/82 cont./

Ee 531 Figure 33b, which corresponds, as does also the form of this flute, completely to ancient Peruvian models. Also, the surface of the Chiriguano cane flute I.A. 494 (cf. Fig. 34a /see p. 89/) shows some incisings.

One of the tattooed decorations is shown in a drawing by Nordenskiöld, who found it on a woman's arm (310).

310. Nord. 1, Fig. 108.

Social Conditions among the Chiriguano and Chané

C Ce 114 With regard to the social conditions among the Chiriguano and the Chané-Izozó, I am unable to add to the few data which we knew on this subject because the situations in which I found myself when with these Indians were not appropriate for such investigations.

Ce 115 124 126 /83/ Among the Izozó whom I found in Toledo there were some who were designated as cacique. To one of these, who spoke Spanish perfectly, I owe the vocabulary of the Izozó language which I wrote down. I met the Chiriguano only in

C 114 197 622 Machareti, where they had lived for a long time under the supervision of the missionaries and, at the time of my trip, under the chieftainship of one of their own fellows who exercised the functions of a commissioner /comisario/. Two other Chiriguano Indians whom I met in Machareti were identified as caciques.

Ee 129 In order to complete my statements about the Chiriguano and the Chané-Izozó, I must make a resumé of what we know from the literature regarding the social conditions of those Indians, referring to Moreno's statements, which are based on old documents, as well as those of v. Nordenskiöld, which are based upon his own investigations.

Ee 178 648 643 000 Naturally, many of the old Chiriguano and Chané social institutions have been lost since they lost their independence from the whites. Also, the power of the great caciques has diminished appreciably since they have been dependent on the whites. When Nordenskiöld

/84 cont./

631 [643] Also for the parcialidad of Chiquiacá besides its great cacique, Chiquiacá or Chiacá, 14 other caciques are mentioned, but it cannot be determined from these statements whether these are the names of successive caciques or of contemporaneous ones.

C 175 ●648 631 We have interesting data from the 16th century on the way in which the individual Chiriguano communities distributed among themselves the different countries in which they were making their depredations. In the "Confesión de Blas Negro," it is said "that to those of the province of caypuru fell the part of tomina, and those of coyagua to the churumatas, and those of tendi as far as misque and tiraque, and those of aguapea up to this road from poxo and santa cruz" (316).

316. Moreno, II, p. 120.

C Ce 175 648 In the historical sketch placed at the beginning of this work, I have already mentioned that the Chané, and also other tribes as well, were subjugated by the Chiriguano and incorporated as subjects into their communities. The Chané communities which C [728] [648] had originally been in Chiriguano territory or its environs had been exterminated, until at the end of the 19th century, when the Chiriguano lost their independence because of the whites, the Chané were emancipated from their oppressors and once more inhabited their separate towns governed by their own great caciques.

Ce 175 643 We have an interesting item in the "Comentarios de Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca" through which we know that the Chané in times past, before being subjugated by the Chiriguano, had a strong social organization and powerful great caciques. In Puerto de Reyes, Alvar Nuñez met a Chané cacique who had previously accompanied García on his return from Peru and later, after the murder of García by the Guaraní, had fled from them. Among other things this cacique declared "that in his land those of his race have a single headman who orders all and who is obeyed by all, and that there are many towns of many peoples of those of 000 his race" (317). The subjugated Chané were distributed among

317. Moreno II, p. 30.

C
Ce /84 cont./ The subjugated Chané were distributed among
175 the various social communities of the Chiriguano as subjects or
648 slaves. In the "Relación del Corregidor de Tomino Don Juan
162 Arce de Alvedia" in the year 1618, it is said that in the Province
[567] of Machareti, "which is Pilcomayo and its environs," there lived scarcely 400 pure Chiriguano, among whom were distributed 5,000 Chané "to one 200, to another 100, to another 60, and in this way up to said number." In the Province of Charaguay 4,000
C Ce 175 648 567 Chané were distributed in the same manner to the 350 Chiriguano of this province, and upwards of 1,000 Chané to the 200 Chiriguano of the Province of Guapay. As in other documents, in this one as well, there is mentioned the ill treatment which these subjects had to suffer from the Chiriguano and the hate which they had toward their oppressors (318). The Chiriguano

C Ce [186]

318. Moreno II, pp. 250 and 104.

scornfully called the Chané "tapií," while they themselves were called /85/ by the latter "cheya," that is, "my master" (319).

319. Moreno II, p. 254.

C 175 648 567 Although most of these subjects or slaves were made up of Chané, there were also among them other Indians who had been subjugated in the expeditions, for example, Chicha Indians (320), and among

Ce [567] [648]

320. Moreno II, p. 207.

the Chiriguano of Tendi also Guatuco Indians (321). According

321. Moreno II, p. 117.

to Techo (322), whose report was written in the second half of

322. According to Moreno II, pp. 236 and 237.

the 17th century, the Chiriguano customarily sold some of their slaves to the Spaniards.

/85 cont./

●648 175 Outside of those subjects incorporated directly into the Chiriguano communities, several tribes of Indians subjugated by the Chiriguano were their tributaries, that is, the tributaries of their individual parcialidades. These tribes had to pay fixed tributes and to lend services as allies in war (323). Such tribu-

323. Moreno II, pp. 121 and 125, 117.

taries of the Chiriguano of the province of Yvytupue were the Tamacocies, the Xores, and the Yurucarés. In the "Carta /letter/ from Don Lorenzo de Figueroa" of the year 1584 it says that the Tamacocies and Xores and Yurucarés had not assisted the Chiriguano of the parcialidad of Vitupue, seeing that they might be defeated by the Spaniards. From this report it can be surmised that as tributaries, they might have been obligated to aid their masters. From the "Confesión del Blas negro," who had lived for a long time as a prisoner among the Chiriguano, we learn what made up the tributes that the three tributary tribes had to pay to the parcialidad of Ybytupue (324). "They

324. Moreno II, pp. 121 and 125.

pay tribute in this way, the Xores poisonous herbs for their arrows, and the Tamacozies, Indian men and women, bows and arrows, and fish and game and macaws, and the Yurucares give them coconuts and turkey feathers and chonta palm for making arrows." Moreover the same source says that the Chiriguano of Tendi and Aparo, Aguapea, and Caripui had contracted with the Chuis-Indians of the town of Mísque to provide them "with powdered saltpeter, stone, sulfur, axes, crowns /coronas/, chipanos, scissors, knives, and other things" (325).

325. Moreno II, p. 121.

/86 cont./

The inequalities which formerly existed between the class of the Chiriguano themselves and the class of their subjects, which was for the most part made up of Chané, is no longer important today, since the latter were emancipated at the end of the last century, and they again have their own great caciques and ordinary caciques. Beyond the fact that the family to which the caciques belong has a certain preference (332) today, scarcely

332. Nord. 1, p. 230.

any difference exists today among the members of the same Chiriguano community with respect to their economy. But such a difference indeed exists among the various communities themselves, depending on the conditions of production in the different places. Also today, since the emancipation of the Chané, the work is distributed, more or less equally among the members of the community of the same sex. The great cacique and his wife take part in communal labor. Only a few Indians are exempt from this rule, and they are those who have accommodated themselves to the modern situation and send members of their own tribe to work as servants (333).

333. Nord. 1, p. 231.

Inequality of practical importance exists almost solely between the two sexes, and especially with regard to the distribution of labor. With regard to the supplying of /87/ necessities, this inequality between the sexes does not appear, but only in the fact that the men and the women eat apart and the men in general eat first and women and children later (334). Nordenskiöld has

334. Nord. 1, p. 189.

made up an exact scheme of the distribution of labor between men and women (335) /there is no footnote bearing this number/. According to this scheme, the following work is apportioned only to men: hunting, planting and clearing, woodworking, twisting

726 /88 cont./
712 King was (354). Their towns, described in the preceding, were

354. Moreno II, p. 87.

175 fortified by blockades, in addition to their natural position. Ruiz
212 Diaz de Guzman on his expedition against the Chiriguano found
248 a town near the Pilcomayo which was fortified by two concentric blockades of stone and wood (355). We find interesting data

355. Moreno II, p. 252.

about the fortifications that the Chiriguano made during their wars in the "Relación y breve noticia de lo sucedido en la guerra de Chiriguanos que se ha hecho este año de 1729 por orden /89/ del señor Virrey y Real Audiencia de Chuquisaca por el Padre Bartholomé de Mora /Report and brief note on what happened in the Chiriguano war that took place in this year of 1729 by order of the Lord Viceroy and Royal Audiencia of Chuquisaca by Father Bartolomé de Mora/" (356). These fortifications are described

[113]

356. Unpublished /inedito/ manuscript published /publicado/ by Professor A. Posnansky with an introduction and notes by Dr. A. Métraux. (Revista del Instituto de Etnologia de la Universidad de Tucuman, Vol. II, No. I, p. 126.)

in the following way: "Continuing on their way (the Spaniards and Chiquitos), now by the light of day, at about a league they found blocking the way a very strong and well placed trench with very heavy stakes stuck in the ground, which, hewn like planks, had loopholes through which they shot arrows. Here considerable resistance was met, because the trench was very well fortified and the Indians who defended it were numerous." In another place it says: "They went on, all now being together, and they arrived at the place where the enemies had fortified themselves.... The fort was a ravine cut like a wall, which had

C 175 712 648 /89 cont./ only one way up, very narrow and steep, which, sown with thorny branches, made it more impenetrable. On the eminence of which they had entrenched the gate with stakes stuck into the ground."

Ce Ce 178 648 721 Today the Chiriguano and Chané no longer make war upon other Indians, aside from the fact that the Chané on the Parapití occasionally go on expeditions against the Tsirakua Indians (357).

357. Nord. 1, p. 171.

Law

Ce 671 178 Because the white authorities intervene more and more in the original, juridical traditions of the Chiriguano and Chané, many of them no longer exist today and also, from the few data which Nordenskiöld gives regarding this matter as of 30 years ago, many do not now correspond to the facts.

Ce 627 With regard to penal law, we find among these Indians a mixture between the principle of the "vendetta" and the practice of penal law. Among the Chané on the Parapití, most crimes, and robbery in particular, were settled by means of the duel. Ce [685] In the case of theft, the one who has stolen and the one who has been robbed appear, each with his relatives, in the town square Ce 697 642 68 to fight each other. Only homicide, the seduction of a woman, and sorcery were decided by the great cacique as judge. Homicide, which formerly occurred among the Chané in the form of poisoning with poisoned chicha ("bád dyási"), and sorcery were punished by the burning of the criminal. The seducer of a woman lost his property (358). According to statements of the substitute great

358. Nord. 1, p. 232.

cacique of the Chané on the Itiyuru, it was the principal obligation of the cacique to avoid the vendetta by sending criminals to another region so that they would not be killed. Thus thieves, after having received 50 lashes, were sent to another town. A murderer was condemned to work up to half a year for the family